



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

56

71

3 50181 4



45
—
60

HISTORY *of the* **REPUBLICAN** **PARTY**

**What it has stood for and
what it stands for to-day**



By
Willis Fletcher Johnson

PRICE, SIXTY CENTS



JK
23
J7



HISTORY *of the* REPUBLICAN PARTY

WHAT IT HAS STOOD FOR AND
WHAT IT STANDS FOR TO-DAY



By

WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D.

Author of "A Century of Expansion," "Four Centuries of the Panama Canal," "America's Foreign Relations," "The History of Cuba," "Political and Governmental History of the State of New York." Honorary Professor of the History of American Foreign Relations in New York University.

The Century History Company
117-119 West 48th Street, New York

1920



COPYRIGHTED BY
THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY
1920
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Wahr
6383
Pol. Sci.
6-5-1922
gen.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

Purpose of the Work—Politics the Science of Government—American Government Effected by Means of Parties—Two Great Parties—Futility of Other Organizations—Duty of Citizens to Parties—Significance of the Republican Party.....	1
---	---

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

CHAPTER I: ORIGIN

Time and Circumstances of the Founding of the Republican Party—The Sectional Controversy over Slavery—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill—The Free Soil Movement—Some of the Founders—Choice of the Name—The First Convention—Many Members of Congress	7
---	---

CHAPTER II: THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

First National Convention—Fremont for President—No Fellowship with "Know Nothings"—The First Platform—The Campaign and Its Result—The Dred Scott Decision—The Kansas Conflict—Douglas and Democratic Dissensions—Consolidation of the Republican Party.....	13
---	----

CHAPTER III: THE LEADERSHIP OF LINCOLN

Need of Commanding Leadership—Lincoln's Masterful Course—The Debate with Douglas—Its Results—Republican Gains in Congress—The Presidential Campaign of 1860—The Republican Platform—Nomination and Election of Lincoln—The Task Before Him.....	19
---	----

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER IV: THE CIVIL WAR

Union and Liberty the Twin Issues—Lincoln's Prudent Policy—The Emancipation Proclamation—Successful Prosecution of the War—The Campaign of 1864—Chief Planks of the Republican Platform—Result of the Election—The Thirteenth Amendment	28
---	----

CHAPTER V: CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

Reform of the Tariff System—The National Banking System and Legal Tender Banknote Currency—The Homestead Act and Its Results—The Timber Culture Act—Land Grants to Colleges—The Pacific Railroads—Achievements of the Republican Party	33
--	----

CHAPTER VI: SOME EXTERNAL INTERESTS

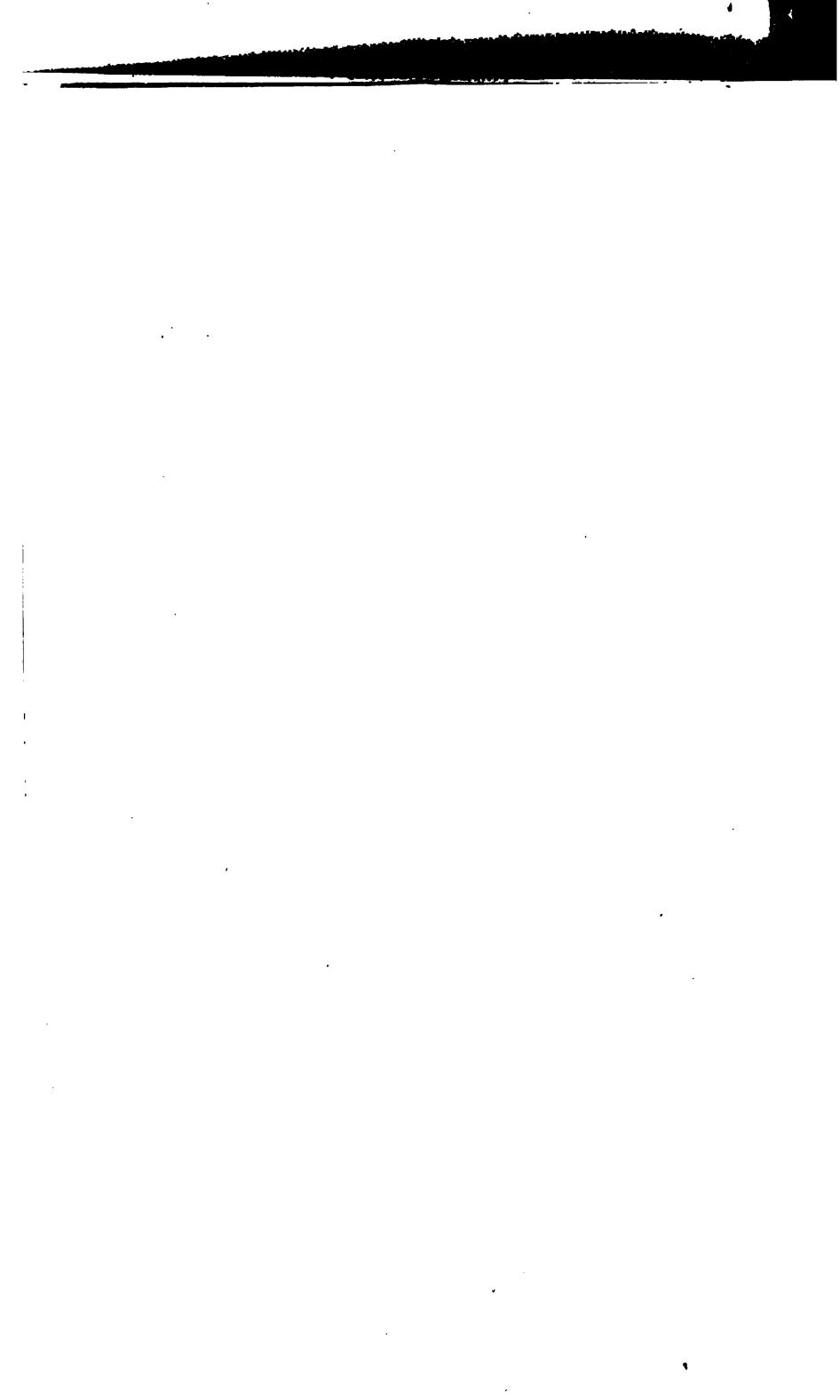
Diplomacy During the Civil War—Preventing Intervention and Insisting Upon Neutrality—The Geneva Arbitration—The Monroe Doctrine in Mexico—Vindication of American Rights and Principles—Acquisition of Alaska.....	39
--	----

CONTENTS—Continued

CHAPTER VII: RESTORING THE UNION	PAGE
The Return of the South—Conflict between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction—Generous Policy of the Republicans toward the South—Protecting the Emancipated Negroes—Civil Rights—Representation in Congress—The National Debt—Universal Suffrage.....	44
MATERIAL INTERESTS	
CHAPTER VIII: FINANCIAL INTEGRITY	
Issues After the War—Payment of the National Debt—National Bonds and Greenbacks—Resisting Repudiation and Inflation—Sources of the Governmental Revenue—The "Fiat Money" Movement—Successful Resumption of Specie Payments—Fiscal Reorganization	53
CHAPTER IX: PROGRESS AND REFORM	
Vindicating the Rights of Man—The Right of Individual Self-Determination of Citizenship—Great Public Works—The Merit System in Public Service—The "Liberal Republican" Movement—Issues of 1872—First Recognition of Women's Rights—Demonetization of Silver.....	58
CHAPTER X: PROMOTING AMERICAN INDUSTRY	
The World's Fair of 1876—Increasing Importance of the Tariff Issue—Protection or Free Trade?—The Disputed Election of 1876—Southern Reconstruction Completed—The Platform of 1880—The Tariff the Paramount Issue—The Tariff Commission and a New Law.....	66
CHAPTER XI: TARIFF CONTROVERSIES	
The Issue in 1884—Election of a Democratic President—Renewal of the Tariff Controversy—Return of the Republicans to Power—The McKinley Tariff—Another Democratic Victory—Democratic Tariff Schemes—"Perfidy and Dishonor"—Republican Restoration—The Dingley Tariff—Reciprocity—Final Triumph of the Republican Tariff Principles.....	72
CHAPTER XII: SOUND MONEY	
Beginning of the Silver Controversy—The Bland Bill and Its Evil Effects—Repeal of the Silver Coinage Law—The Campaign of 1896—The Gold Standard Act—Overwhelming Victory of the Republican Campaigns for Honest Money—Final Acquiescence of the Democrats.....	81
NATIONAL EXPANSION	
CHAPTER XIII: NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES	
New States Added to the Union by Republican Governments—Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines—The Open Door in China—The Panama Canal—Keeping the Kaiser Out of South America—The United States as a "World Power" Under Republican Administrations.....	84

CONTENTS—Continued

	PAGE
CHAPTER XIV: "BIG BUSINESS"	
Development of Great Corporations—Their Good and Evil—The Anti-Trust Act—Maintaining Government Control of Trusts—The Policy of the "Square Deal"—Economic Legislation—Epochal Achievements of the Roosevelt Administration—Election of President Taft.....	88
CHAPTER XV: PARTY READJUSTMENT	
The Payne-Aldrich Tariff—Canadian Reciprocity—Rise of the "Progressive" Movement—Temporary Republican Schism in 1912—Reunion of the Party in 1916—Its Progressive Principles—Its Course During the War—Settling the Issues of the War	93
CHAPTER XVI: EQUAL SUFFRAGE	
Early Relation of the Republican Party to the Enfranchisement of Women—Notable Utterances in National Platforms—Silence of Democratic Platforms—The Equal Suffrage Amendment Adopted by Republican Votes—State Ratifications Chiefly by Republican States.....	101
REVIEW AND PROSPECT	
Past Achievements of the Republican Party for the General Good—Its Attitude Toward Present Interests of the Nation—Its Outlook Upon the Future.....	106
PRESIDENTIAL CHRONOLOGY	110
REFERENCES FOR COLLATERAL READING..	111
INDEX	113



INTRODUCTION

This is a History. It is not a political treatise or special plea. It is, in brief form, a review of the history of the Republican party of the United States from its origin to the present time. It aims to present a concise, coherent narrative of events and achievements, with only such explanation and comment as may be necessary to make the relation of cause and effect clear to the reader's mind and thus to indicate what the Republican party has stood for in the life of the American nation, what it stands for to-day and what it promises for the future. If, as the author frankly desires and expects, the net effect of this presentation shall be to incline a greater number of the voters of this country, and particularly of the millions of new and newly-enfranchised citizens, to the support of the Republican party, this result will be accomplished, not by persuasiveness of rhetoric or passion of partisan appeal, but rather by the irresistible logic of facts which are matters of record.

It is also the hope of the author that these pages will convince a vast number of those who are about to exercise for the first time the full privileges of American citizenship that it is their duty to affiliate themselves sincerely and loyally with one or the other of the two great parties which have so long existed in American politics. Politics is the science of government. Nicholas Murray Butler has well said: "Politics is not office-seeking; politics is not the use of devious arts of the demagogue or the self-seeker to secure power over men. Politics is one of the noblest and finest words in our language. It is nothing but the doctrine of how to live together happily and helpfully in organized society. In an autocracy, whether imperialist or socialist, there will be no need for politics. In an autocracy our politics will be made for us by some one

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

else. In a democratic republic we make our own politics. In a republic every good citizen is or should be an active politician, because free government will not take care of itself. American institutions will not preserve themselves. They need the care, they need the devotion, they need the protection of thoughtful, high-minded and patriotic men and women who are deeply interested in politics and deeply concerned about politics."

American government is a government by political parties. It was so intended at the foundation of our constitutional system. The very genius of our institutions requires that there shall be two great parties, one to exercise the authority and bear the responsibility of conducting the actual government, the other to serve as check and critic, not obstructive but constructive, the two alternating in power as their respective policies and theories of legislation and administration may from time to time best serve the varying needs of the nation. It is in this way that the best results of constructive statesmanship have hitherto been attained and the greatest progress made in the science of government.

This system was gradually developed from the time of the Revolution until in 1832 it assumed its present form, with popular nominating conventions for elective officers and with party platforms, or declarations of principles and programmes of action, announcing to the electorate the issues to be determined and the policies purposed to be pursued. This system of representative and responsible party government has become firmly established as fundamental to the American Republic. It is true that our history teems with the records of "independent," "third party" or other like movements, some of which for a brief space have had more or less spectacular careers. But the great lesson which their record teaches is their general futility, if not at times actual mischief.

It is a literal fact that not one such party has ever succeeded either in perpetuating itself or in justifying its existence by accomplishing its aims. Thus the Abolition party arose in 1840, but exercised no dominant influence in a single state.

INTRODUCTION

In 1844, however, it did draw enough votes away from Henry Clay to defeat him and to elect James K. Polk, thus actually injuring the cause which it professed to serve. It was left not for that or any like organization but for the Republican party finally to abolish slavery. So the "Anti-Masonic," the "Know Nothing," the "Constitutional Union" and other parties before the Civil War ran their little courses, caused some agitation, often mere irritation and at all times more evil than good. They disappeared without a single enduring and beneficent achievement to their credit. In like manner there have been many similar organizations or so called parties since the civil war such as Greenback, Liberal, Silver, Populist, Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Prohibition. Not one of them has ever even approximated control of the government. Not one has ever achieved its purpose. One of the most notable and most recent examples has been that of the Prohibition party, which has existed for many years, but which at the end entered into a decline and saw the very work which it had vainly striven to do performed by the two great parties against which it had indiscriminately waged its futile warfare.

With this instructive record of minor party inefficiency and failure before them, American citizens would be blind indeed if they did not perceive the path of duty. That duty is to choose intelligently and on principle between the two great parties which alone are capable of patriotic efficiency; to affiliate themselves loyally with the party of their deliberate choice; and to participate actively in its management and conduct. It is generally recognized to be the duty of every American citizen to vote at elections. Similarly it is the duty of every one to participate in the primary elections of his or her party. If citizens of the Republic were generally to abstain from voting we should expect the affairs of the country to be neglected and abused. So if members of a party abstain from interesting themselves in its direction it is bound to suffer abuse. It is from such neglect on the part of citizens that the evils of party management have arisen.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

No rational and loyal American citizen thinks of asserting his "independence" of the Republic or of setting up a rival government. Even if he wishes to have changes and reforms made in the government, he seeks to make them "from the inside." Since, then, it is the established principle of the nation that its government shall be conducted through the agency of two major parties, it becomes scarcely less incumbent upon citizens to recognize those parties, to exercise their political activities in them and through them, and, if ever they desire changes in them, to make them "from the inside." To assert independence of all party affiliation and to support only such party candidates and measures as may occasionally appeal to us would be only a little less illogical and reprehensible than to withhold complete allegiance to the government itself and to support it only when it particularly pleases us to do so.

The essential fallacy and futility of minor parties can be perceived in their very nature and purpose. They are designed to serve some special interest, either temporary or local. No governmental policy worthy of the name can be based upon such issues. It must be comprehensive of all parts of the nation and of permanent or at least enduring application. For example, the construction of a Pacific Railroad or an Isthmian Canal was a great project, worthy of advocacy in a national party platform. But it would manifestly have been absurd to found a political party upon such an issue. The same may be said of the various issues of the present day. They are of indisputable importance, but to base a party upon any one of them alone would be futile and absurd. They must be dealt with by a party which takes a comprehensive view of them all and which will not dispose of them in accordance with some special, local or temporary interest, but will act in conformity with the general and permanent interests of the whole nation.

With this conception of the party and of the citizen's duty to the party before us, this history of the Republican party is presented in confidence that its facts of record will afford convincing reasons to multitudes of voters for affiliating them-

INTRODUCTION

selves with it as the party the better calculated to serve the best interests of the American people. Its very name is auspicious of that fact. There were others before it, two of them, which bore the same name; applied to them without special significance, as has been the case with many other party designations. Jefferson called his party the Republican, in contradistinction to the Federalist, though indeed the names would have been far more logically and fittingly applied if they had been exchanged. Again the name was used for a few years by the party opposed to Jacksonian Democracy, until it was merged with the Whigs. Neither of those short-lived organizations had in its purpose or in its achievements anything particularly to justify its use of the name. That was reserved for the present party which has now endured through a triumphant career twice as long as the united ages of its two predecessors.

Republican: The Party of the Republic. Republic: The *Res Publica*, the Common Wealth. The derivation of the name denotes its purport. It is the party not of a class or of a section or of a period, but of the general and lasting good of the whole people. It means the party which knows no sectional divisions on geographical lines, but has regard for North and South, for East and West, alike. It is the party which recognizes no distinctions of caste or class or social rank, but serves equally the interests of rich and poor, of employer and employe, of capital and labor, of domestic industry and external commerce; acting always upon the impregnable principle that the whole is greater than any of its parts, and that to promote the welfare of the whole nation is the best possible means of promoting the welfare of all the parts. It is the party which aims at once at progress in the arts of civilization and in all the beneficent conditions and circumstances of human life, individual and social, and at the conservation of those fundamental rights of person and of property which are essential to the durability of all government and even civilization itself.

These are the things for which a party called Republican must unceasingly stand, if it is to be worthy of its name. It is

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

for the reader of these pages to judge, from the written record, how faithfully and efficiently the present Republican party has stood for them for now more than threescore years, how truly it stands for them today and how trustworthy is its promise to stand for them in the future. Upon such judgment will rest his or her decision to become or not to become affiliated with the Republican party.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN

The Republican party was organized in 1854. That was the time of the third great crisis in the domestic history of the nation. The first had occurred in the very establishment of our constitutional system. The second had its culmination in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, when, by giving formal recognition and assent to sectional lines, it was hoped to allay the rising menace of sectionalism against nationality. For a generation that compromise endured, though the inexorable logic of events was steadily working against its perpetuity. Its principle had been to divide the United States west of the Mississippi River on the geographical line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, with free territory at the north and slave territory at the south, and to admit a state from one side concurrently with a state from the other, so as to keep the balance even between the two at Washington. That seemed like an extension of the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 which made the Northwest territory—afterward Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin—free soil, while leaving the Southwest—Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Gulf States—to slavery.

Before a dozen years had passed, however, it became apparent that there was more territory for free states north of the Missouri Compromise line than for slave states south of it. So Texas was annexed and a vast region was taken from Mexico to provide material for more slave states. But this operation proved disappointing. Texas remained one single state instead of being divided into the five that had been expected; California came in as a single free state instead of

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

being divided into two, one free and one slave; and New Mexico and Arizona would obviously not be ready for statehood for many years. With Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon and other northern territories rapidly preparing for entrance into the Union, each having claims based upon fitness that could not be denied, it was evident that the Missouri Compromise could not prevent the free states from soon outnumbering the slave.

Therefore in 1854 the Pro-Slavery party, with its last control of Congress, enacted the Kansas-Nebraska bill. That measure was a virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise in that it permitted slavery and slave states north of the line which the latter act had established. It did not, it is true, command the existence of slavery nor declare the power of Congress to require its extension in the northern territories. But it established the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty," under which the residents, even temporary, of any territory might determine whether it should be free or slave. This was in the face of the constitutional provision that Congress should make all laws for the government of territories before their admission to the Union as states as well as in violation of the compromise of 1820.

The result was the precipitation of the final conflict over sectionalism, with a complete breaking up of the old parties and a general political realignment. The Democratic party was rent asunder, a large proportion of its members in the North refusing to sanction the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The Whig party practically went out of existence. The radical Free Soil party arose in considerable strength. Obviously the time was ripe for a new national organization which should grapple with the great issues rising dominant above all others which had been matters of contention between Whigs and Democrats. These latter issues had, indeed, existed from the beginning of the nation and were in themselves of great moment. They included questions of the tariff, banking, internal improvements such as roads and canals, the power of the President's veto and strict or liberal construction of the constitution. Some of them

ORIGIN

dated from the days of Hamilton and Jefferson ; some of them have persisted until the present time.

But at the middle of the last century far-seeing and thoughtful men perceived that all these were subordinate, for the time, to the two supreme issues of liberty and union. There was little use in debating what should be the policy of the nation until it was positively and permanently determined whether there was to be one nation or two. And if it was to remain one nation, all questions of economics must be held in abeyance to that of whether it was to be a nation of free or of slave labor. So, during the protracted debate in Congress over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, there arose an immeasurably wider and more significant discussion throughout the free states of the North as to what should be done to meet the menace of that measure.

The logic of events drew together men of three parties: Democrats, Whigs, and Free Soilers ; together with many humanitarians who had not been closely affiliated with any party. Among the Democrats were Nathaniel P. Banks and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Lyman Trumbull and John M. Palmer of Illinois, Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, Francis P. Blair of Missouri, Montgomery Blair of Maryland, and Preston King and William Cullen Bryant of New York. The Whigs contributed Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard of Michigan, Henry S. Lane and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Jacob W. Grimes of Iowa, Thomas Corwin, Benjamin F. Wade and John Sherman of Ohio, George Ashmun of Massachusetts, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and William H. Seward, E. D. Morgan and Horace Greeley of New York. From the ranks of the Free Soil party came Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Horace Mann, John G. Palfrey and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, George W. Julian of Indiana and David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. Cordially associated with these and lending to them their incomparable intellectual and spiritual influence were the

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

writers and thinkers of the age: Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, George William Curtis, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Ward Beecher, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Julia Ward Howe. No other party was ever organized with so distinguished and authoritative an array of men and women as its leaders and directors.

Many of these men had been strong partisan opponents of each other. Abraham Lincoln as a Whig and Lyman Trumbull as a Democrat were rivals in a contest for the senatorship from Illinois. But all were now agreed that in the presence of issues that overshadowed all their former party differences they must agree to hold these latter in abeyance and to unite for the settlement of the former. Yet to some extent they brought into the composition of the new party the best characteristics of the old ones. The Whigs, who formed not only a plurality but probably a considerable majority of the combination, impressed upon it their broad and liberal views of constitutional construction. The Democrats contributed a resolute loyalty to the Union, devotion to the legitimate rights of the states and a fine conception of the equal rights of all men under the law. The Free Soilers who, more than either of the others, had been a party of one idea, infused the whole with their passionate determination that there should be no further extension of slavery.

This last named principle was indeed the foremost and strongest in the minds of all. There was no purpose to interfere with slavery where it lawfully existed or where it might be lawfully extended under the terms of the Missouri Compromise. Though all believed with Lincoln that the Union could not permanently exist half slave and half free, they had sufficient faith in the superior virtues of free labor to believe that in time the problem would be solved by the irresistible force of economic laws, and that the institution of slavery would perish through its own unsoundness. They were, however, inflexibly determined that slavery should not be extended into the territories which had been dedicated to freedom. All

ORIGIN

through the spring and early summer of 1854 meetings were held and correspondence was conducted, culminating in a mass meeting at Ripon, Wisconsin, at which it was formally resolved that if the Kansas-Nebraska bill was enacted they would "throw old party organizations to the winds and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery." The chief organizer of that meeting was A. E. Bovay, who had been in correspondence upon the subject with Horace Greeley and who at that meeting proposed that the new organization be known as the Republican party.

It was of course necessary to adopt a new name. The Whigs were the most numerous members of the new body, but they could not expect the Democrats to call themselves Whigs. Neither, of course, would the Whigs consent to be called Democrats, even if that name had not belonged to the party which they were about to fight. Neither Whigs nor Democrats would be known as Free Soilers. In those circumstances the suggestion of "Republican" was most felicitous. Democrats remembered that it had been adopted by Jefferson. Whigs recalled the use of it by the founders of their own party in opposition to Jackson. Free Soilers were reminded that Jefferson, in the Ordinance of 1787 which he drafted, was the pioneer Free Soiler who made the Northwest Territory free and would have made the Southwest similarly free if his will could have prevailed.

The formal adoption of the name and organization of the party were reserved to a little later date. It was on July 6, 1854. The place was a grove of giant oaks at Jackson, Michigan. There a state convention was held of Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Jacob M. Howard was chairman. A platform was adopted denouncing slavery as a "relic of barbarism," demanding that Congress restore and maintain the restrictions imposed upon it by the Missouri Compromise, holding in abeyance all other political issues and party differences until that paramount question should be settled, and pledging co-operation under the name of

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

the Republican party. Similar action was taken at conventions in other western states a week later. It was suggested by some that a national convention be called, but Seward and others opposed such action as premature and it was not done. But throughout the free states of the North there were nominated for Congress either avowedly Republican candidates or Whigs and Free Soilers who were ready to coalesce with the Republicans.

The result was that at the elections in the fall of 1854 the new party, not yet six months old, polled a majority of the votes in about half the states, secured the election of a number of United States Senators and elected a large delegation to the House of Representatives. When the House thus elected met for organization in the fall of 1855 it was divided among a number of factions, not one of which had a majority. But so numerous were the Republicans that with the help of some allies they were able, after a struggle which lasted from December 3, 1855, to February 2, 1856, on the 133rd ballot to elect Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts as Speaker. Banks, who had begun work as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill, had been a Democrat but, as already noted, had been among the foremost organizers of the Republican party and thus became the first Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives. He filled that difficult place in those supremely trying times with such ability and fairness that during his entire term not one of his parliamentary rulings was disputed. After this notable victory at the polls in 1854 there was some reaction in 1855, yet there was really much growth of party strength and confident preparations were made for a national campaign in 1856.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

The Republican party was conspicuously a party of the people in both its origin and formation. Instead of being organized and promulgated from a national centre, it began in local and community meetings. During the first two years of its existence these local bodies extended themselves to state conventions. Finally, in its third year, it essayed a national convention and a national organization. In this movement Michigan, which had been the scene of the party's birth and of its first state convention, fittingly took the lead. On the recommendation of the Michigan state committee the state committees of all the states in which the party had been organized issued on January 17, 1856, a call for a national convention to be held at Pittsburgh on February 22 following. This was not to be a nominating convention nor one with a stated proportionate representation, like the conventions of the present time, but rather a national mass meeting for conference and council. It was largely attended by representative men from every state from Maine to California. There were Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, "Know Nothings" and others, all now fully merged into the Republican party and called by no other name. The permanent chairman was Francis P. Blair of Missouri, a former Democrat who had been one of the close friends of Andrew Jackson. An address to the nation was drafted by Henry J. Raymond and adopted by the convention, and a committee of which George W. Julian was chairman prepared and issued a call for a national nominating convention to be held at Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

This first national nominating convention of the Republican

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

party was singularly spontaneous and informal. No fixed rule for the representation of the various states was followed, but each state sent as many delegates as it considered its fair quota. Delegates were present from every northern state, and also from the three border states of Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. The gathering was called to order by Edwin D. Morgan of New York, afterwards Governor of the state and United States Senator. Robert Emmet, a nephew of the famous Irish patriot of that name, was made temporary chairman. Later in the day Henry S. Lane of Indiana was made permanent chairman. An informal ballot was taken for a candidate for President of the United States with the very decisive result that General John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder of the Rocky Mountains" and the first United States Senator from California, received 359 votes; John McLean of Ohio, 196; Charles Sumner, United States Senator from Massachusetts, 2; and William H. Seward, Senator from New York, 1. A formal ballot resulted still more strongly in Fremont's favor and his nomination was then made unanimous amid great enthusiasm. An informal ballot for Vice-President gave 259 votes for William L. Dayton, who had been a senator from New Jersey; 110 for Abraham Lincoln, formerly Representative in Congress from Illinois; 46 for Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts; and a few for each of a dozen other men. Dayton was then formally and unanimously nominated, completing the ticket.

Before the balloting for President there was received a message from the managers of a faction of the American or "Know Nothing" party asking for a conference with a view to co-operation and union. The American party had held a convention, had nominated Millard Fillmore for President and had refused to commit itself against the extension of slavery. Thereupon a considerable faction, including most of the delegates from the New England States and some of those from Pennsylvania and the West, withdrew, organized a bolting convention and nominated Fremont for President on a platform

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

opposed to the extension of slavery. It was this faction which sought co-operation with the Republicans. Its message was carefully considered by the Republican convention, which finally decided not to accept the overture for co-operation. The Republicans would have welcomed "Know Nothing" support for their candidates, but they were absolutely unwilling to identify or associate themselves in any way with that party in its intolerant and proscriptive attitude toward citizens of foreign birth.

The platform which was adopted by this first Republican national convention, and on which the ensuing campaign was fought, made no mention of the Republican party by name but spoke of the "convention of delegates" and issued its call "addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state, of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." It demanded the maintenance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution and the preservation of the rights of the states and of the Union of the states. It took strong ground against the extension of slavery into the free territories, against the terrorism and oppression which had been applied to Kansas in an effort to impose slavery upon that would-be state, and demanded the admission of Kansas to the Union as a free state. It denounced the notorious "Ostend Manifesto" as a "highwayman's plea." Its only references to other political or economic issues were a demand for federal aid for the building of the Pacific Railroad and for the river and harbor improvements needed by commerce.

The campaign which followed was marked with tremendous enthusiasm and excitement throughout the North and with general apathy in the South. The Democrats had nominated James Buchanan and the remnant of the Whigs had accepted the

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

"Know Nothing" nomination of Fillmore. In the South the contest was confined to these two candidates with a practical certainty that Buchanan would run far in the lead. All through the North, from east to west, however, the tripartite contest was waged with a vigor and intensity which had never been seen before, not even in the "Hard Cider" campaign for Harrison in 1840. Mass meetings and marching clubs were everywhere, while the press and pulpit were as impassioned as the stump-speakers. The Republicans were at first confident of success. But the October elections disappointed them and in November they met with defeat. Too many of the old Whigs voted for Fillmore. True, they carried for him only the one state of Maryland. But in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California they kept enough votes away from Fremont to leave the latter in a minority and give Buchanan a plurality though not a majority. Had Fremont carried those four states he would have been elected. As it was he had only 114 electoral votes to Buchanan's 174. The popular vote stood: Buchanan, 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,341,264; Fillmore, 874,534. In eleven slave states no votes were cast for the Republican ticket. The party had no organization there, nor would it have been safe for it to attempt to make one.

The result was discouraging to some of the most sanguine members of the Republican party, but to the great majority it was an incentive to renewed and increased efforts for the next campaign. It also indicated the need of more expert leadership and a more comprehensive platform of principles. The party must not be so much a party of one idea. While it still recognized the two paramount issues, it must pay some attention to others and present a programme of constructive statesmanship. The battle-cry of 1856 had been "Free soil, free speech, free press, free men, Fremont!" That aroused enthusiasm. But something more than mere enthusiasm was needed to win over the rest of the Whigs and still further to rend the Democratic party asunder. This was made the more evident when, in March, 1857, the Dred Scott decision was

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

rendered by the Supreme Court declaring that Congress had no power to prohibit the extension of slavery to the territories, despite the constitutional provision that "the Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States." Obviously this decision practically outlawed the paramount issue upon which the Republican party had been founded and destroyed the party's reason for existence. It was folly to demand that Congress should prevent the extension of slavery into the territories, when the Supreme Court had decided that it had no power to do so. Republicans generally denounced the decision as unsound and an unwarrantable meddling by the judiciary in a purely political matter and made it plain that they would seek its reversal. Nevertheless the decision had to be respected for the time and it made it necessary for the party to put other planks in its platform.

Fortunately for the Republicans the Democrats persisted in the course which had provoked the revolt against them. In the congressional elections of 1856 the Democrats secured a majority so that the Thirty-fifth Congress which met in December, 1857, contained a strong Democratic majority in each house over Republicans and "Know Nothings" combined. It thereupon proceeded with offensive proslavery legislation. Early in May, 1858, the spurious "Lecompton Constitution" was adopted by Congress as the basis for admitting Kansas as a state, and of course as a slave state. But in August following the people of Kansas overwhelmingly rejected it, preferring to remain out of the Union rather than to be admitted with slavery fixed upon them. In that year occurred too the abortive insurrection of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, the tragic outcome of which immensely intensified political passions on both sides and caused thousands of former waverers to ally themselves definitely and aggressively with the Republican party.

Highly important, too, was the schism in the Democratic party. Despite the defection from its ranks in the North that organization was still the most numerous and formidable of

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

all. But when the Buchanan administration, not content with the Dred Scott decision under which it could admit slavery into the territories and protect it there, endeavored to impose the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas, there was a numerous revolt led by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, one of the ablest Democratic statesmen of that day. He professed to be indifferent to the question of slavery in and of itself. He stood squarely for the old Democratic doctrine of the right of self-government and he resented and denounced the attempt to force upon the people of Kansas a government which they did not want. When he openly defied the administration and made himself the leader of the "Anti-Lecompton Democrats" Buchanan warned him to remember how Andrew Jackson had crushed Democratic leaders who had dared to resist his policy. To this Douglas tartly replied that Jackson was dead. "I care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up," he said again and again, "but I do care about the right of Kansas to self-government. If she wants a slave-state constitution she should have it, and if she wants a free-state constitution she should have it—and shall have it."

In this Douglas did not by any means adopt the Republican doctrine. He did, however, rend the Democratic party afresh all through the North, aligning many of its best men against the Democratic administration and leading them into a position from which their next logical and practically inevitable step was into the Republican ranks. As for the Republican leaders they held their ground resolutely against extension of slavery into the territories even in the face of the Dred Scott decision, but at the same time they enlarged their platform, interested themselves in other issues and gradually transformed what appeared at first to be a transient coalition for a single and temporary purpose into a coherent and permanent organization, intended not alone to cope with the great issues of that day but to render enduring service in all respects and directions to the Commonwealth, to the *Res Publica* from which it had taken its name.

CHAPTER III

THE LEADERSHIP OF LINCOLN

The crisis was at hand. The nation itself was at the parting of the ways. The Republican party also, after five years of partly tentative, partly formative endeavor, had reached the point where it must definitely "find itself." It must adopt in the second national campaign which was before it the policy which would determine all its future destinies. The danger was in multiplicity of counsels. We have noted that it was composed of former members of three parties and that it included a large number of men of authoritative leadership. But among these, save on one or both of the paramount topics, there was far more disagreement than harmony. The supreme necessity was that some commanding leader should arise whose personality would draw all to him and therefore to one another, and who would be able to propound a policy upon which all could agree.

That leader was not lacking. In that crucial year of 1858 he came irresistibly to the fore. He had been among the earliest organizers of the party although by no means among the most conspicuous. Sumner, Seward, Trumbull, Giddings, Chase, Lovejoy, Bryant, Greeley and others were far more widely known than he. They were more experienced in public affairs. But they were not to be the leaders. While they hesitated, with divided counsels, Abraham Lincoln strode forward with the confidence of genius. With a prescience far surpassing that of any of his fellows he divined the situation and its imperious needs and with a sure voice sounded the keynote of victory. "A house divided against itself," he said, "cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free." With characteristic direct-

JK
2356
-J71

JK
2356
-J71

JIK
R356
-J71

HISTORY *of the* REPUBLICAN PARTY

WHAT IT HAS STOOD FOR AND
WHAT IT STANDS FOR TO-DAY



By

WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D.

Author of "A Century of Expansion," "Four Centuries of the Panama Canal," "America's Foreign Relations," "The History of Cuba," "Political and Governmental History of the State of New York." Honorary Professor of the History of American Foreign Relations in New York University.

The Century History Company
117-119 West 48th Street, New York

1920

. COPYRIGHTED BY
THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY
1920

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Wahr
6383
Pol. Sci.
6-5-1922
gen.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

Purpose of the Work—Politics the Science of Government—American Government Effected by Means of Parties—Two Great Parties—Futility of Other Organizations—Duty of Citizens to Parties—Significance of the Republican Party.....	1
---	---

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

CHAPTER I: ORIGIN

Time and Circumstances of the Founding of the Republican Party—The Sectional Controversy over Slavery—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill—The Free Soil Movement—Some of the Founders—Choice of the Name—The First Convention—Many Members of Congress	7
---	---

CHAPTER II: THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

First National Convention—Fremont for President—No Fellowship with "Know Nothings"—The First Platform—The Campaign and Its Result—The Dred Scott Decision—The Kansas Conflict—Douglas and Democratic Dissensions—Consolidation of the Republican Party.....	13
---	----

CHAPTER III: THE LEADERSHIP OF LINCOLN

Need of Commanding Leadership—Lincoln's Masterful Course—The Debate with Douglas—Its Results—Republican Gains in Congress—The Presidential Campaign of 1860—The Republican Platform—Nomination and Election of Lincoln—The Task Before Him.....	19
---	----

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER IV: THE CIVIL WAR

Union and Liberty the Twin Issues—Lincoln's Prudent Policy—The Emancipation Proclamation—Successful Prosecution of the War—The Campaign of 1864—Chief Planks of the Republican Platform—Result of the Election—The Thirteenth Amendment	28
---	----

CHAPTER V: CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

Reform of the Tariff System—The National Banking System and Legal Tender Banknote Currency—The Homestead Act and Its Results—The Timber Culture Act—Land Grants to Colleges—The Pacific Railroads—Achievements of the Republican Party	33
--	----

CHAPTER VI: SOME EXTERNAL INTERESTS

Diplomacy During the Civil War—Preventing Intervention and Insisting Upon Neutrality—The Geneva Arbitration—The Monroe Doctrine in Mexico—Vindication of American Rights and Principles—Acquisition of Alaska.....	39
--	----

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Finally in September, 1862, finding that the slave states would not accept the offer and realizing that slave labor was one of the chief economic supports of the rebellion, he deemed the time ripe for emancipation, explicitly as a war measure for the preservation of the Union. He had been willing to retain slavery for the sake of saving the Union, but his offer had been rejected. Now he would destroy slavery for the sake of saving the Union. At first his announcement had a politically bad effect. It divided the North and united the South. All through the great free states of the North, where the clamor for emancipation had months before been loudest, men fell away from the support of the administration, declared the war a failure and called for "compromise" with the seceding states. So serious was the defection of northern Democrats and the hostility of the Constitutional Unionists, that there was danger of the election of a House of Representatives that would oppose the administration and its further prosecution of the war.

But the border states saved the day. New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and other northern states went strongly Democratic. But Missouri and the other border states returned strong Republican majorities and assured the party continued control of Congress, though by a diminished margin. Lincoln's strategy was vindicated. And in his policy both of prosecuting the war and of emancipating the slaves he and his party resolutely persevered. At the third national convention of the Republican party in June, 1864, a platform plank was adopted declaring unequivocally that "as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, justice and national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic."

With the further details of the prosecution of the war we need not here concern ourselves. They do not directly pertain to the subject now before us. It suffices to remember that the Republican party was in full control of the national government all through the war; that despite an opposition that was often factional and venomous it enacted the legislation and per-

THE CIVIL WAR

formed the administrative acts necessary for the successful conduct of the war both in field operations and in fiscal and other provisions; and in April, 1865, ended the war in the complete restoration of the Union on terms of unprecedented generosity and benevolence. Thus was the first of the two supreme tasks accomplished. The other was brought to its completion in 1865 by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, declaring that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The presidential campaign of 1864 involved three parties: The Republican, Democratic and Radical Republican. The last named was composed of a few members of the Republican party who wished a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the confiscation of all lands belonging to secessionists and numerous radical changes in various governmental matters. Its convention nominated General Fremont for President, but long before the election he withdrew his candidacy and the party rejoined and supported the regular Republican party. The Democratic convention nominated General George B. McClellan for President on a platform devoted exclusively to the issues of the war. It declared the war to be a failure, raged against the administration for despotically violating the Constitution and trampling upon the rights of the people, threatened violent resistance to the authority of the national government and demanded an ending of the war through compromise. Although he accepted the nomination, General McClellan openly repudiated the platform, denying especially that the war was a failure.

The Republican convention was held at Baltimore on June 7. On the first and only ballot for the presidential nomination President Lincoln received every vote, save the votes of Missouri which, under instructions from the state convention, were cast for General U. S. Grant. Of course the renomina-

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

tion of Lincoln was made unanimous. For Vice-President on the first ballot Andrew Johnson, a former Democrat and United States Senator from Tennessee, was nominated. The Republican platform heartily approved the administration of Lincoln, demanded the uncompromising prosecution of the war to a successful termination and the complete extirpation of slavery. It also urged the encouragement of immigration by a liberal and just policy, the completion of the Pacific Railroad, the faithful redemption of the national debt and the unfaltering maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine against the French aggressions in Mexico.

The electoral campaign was spirited but the result was never at any time in doubt. The Democrats carried Kentucky overwhelmingly and New Jersey and Delaware by narrow majorities, securing 21 electoral votes. The Republicans carried all the other states with 212 electoral votes. The popular vote stood: Lincoln, 2,213,665; McClellan, 1,802,237. Arrangements were made for voting by the soldiers in the army and the result of it was: Lincoln, 116,887; McClellan, 33,748.

CHAPTER V

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

The achievement of "Liberty and Union," the preservation of the Federal Union and the abolition of slavery would in themselves and alone have been a noteworthy performance, sufficient to entitle the first Republican government to everlasting renown. But such was by no means the full measure of its public services. Partly because of and partly in spite of the tremendous burdens and duties of the Civil War it engaged in a number of works of constructive statesmanship of the highest importance. It realized that with its accession to power and with the disposition of the two great issues of the war a new era was dawning upon the United States, second in importance only to that which was ushered in by the adoption of the Constitution; and that to meet this era and to take advantage of its conditions and opportunities new laws, new methods and new systems of administration were necessary. To the task of supplying these the Republican party through its official representatives at Washington committed itself.

One of the foremost of these needs was that of a reformed tariff system. Years before under the lead of Henry Clay the Whigs had adopted a tariff scheme on imports which afforded a certain degree of protection to American labor and encouragement to American industry. The Democrats on their return to power had abolished that and had substituted a revenue tariff void of those characteristics with the result that in 1857 the country suffered a disastrous business depression. To correct these conditions the Republicans of the House of Representatives in 1860 adopted a bill framed by Justin S. Morrill of Vermont restoring some of the features of the

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

former Whig tariff. This was rejected by the Democratic majority in the Senate. The next year it was put forward again and finally on March 2, 1861, became law. Later it had to be materially altered to meet the fiscal exigencies of the war. Its essential principle, however, remained unchanged for many years and its effect was to cause a rapid development and immense enlargement of American industry. Great new industries were created to supply the American people with home-made articles of indispensable use for which they had formerly been dependent upon other lands. The American standard of wages and the American standard of living among wage-earners were placed and kept far higher than in any other country. American industrialists were protected against unfair competition of the poorly-paid labor of Europe; a fact which soon induced multitudes of European working-men to migrate to the United States in quest of better wages and better conditions of labor and of life. In this way the Republican government at once supplied the revenue needed for paying the extraordinary expenses of the war and enormously stimulated and expanded the profitable industries of the nation, even amid the storm and stress of civil war.

Another need was that of an improved banking and currency system. Hitherto, because of Democratic hostility to a national bank, state and local banks had flourished and had issued their notes as currency. Some of these were, of course, sound and trustworthy institutions. Others were of the speculative and "fly-by-night" order. If such a bank failed its notes were worthless. The result was that bank notes as currency were worth not their face value but a varying sum, determined by the standing of the bank of issue and the distance from it at which the notes were offered. Commercial journals printed daily or weekly lists of the banks and the current value of their notes. The traveler setting out with a pocketful of bills worth a hundred cents on the dollar found their negotiable value diminishing as he proceeded on his journey until perhaps in some distant state they were at a

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

discount of twenty-five or fifty per cent or a notice of failure left him completely stranded.

The Republican party determined to reform all this, partly because the exigencies of the war required it and partly because it was obvious that "wild cat" banking, as it was aptly called, was not only discreditable but also potentially disastrous to the commercial and business interests of the nation. Accordingly there was devised and enacted a scheme for the organization of a system of national banks, chartered and supervised by the Federal government, the notes of which, used as currency, would be guaranteed by government bonds purchased by the banks and deposited by them with the Federal government as security. The act of February 25, 1863, with some subsequent amendments, was the beginning of the national bank system which has ever since prevailed and of which the *London Times*, not always a friendly critic of things American, said that "the genius of man has never invented a better system of finance." The creation of the national bank system was of great service to the government during the war, inasmuch as it assured a certain market for the government bonds which were then issued. The national banks which were organized had to buy them as security for their notes. But in addition to that it rendered the people the inestimable service of providing them with a convenient banknote currency of stable and uniform value. It was not necessary to examine a bill to see what bank had issued it and then to look up its current value in the market reports. A dollar bill of any national bank was worth a hundred cents at any time and at any place. The bank that issued it might fail but the note would still be good for its face value.

The National Bank act became law in 1863. In 1864 there were 508 such banks; in 1865, 1,513; in 1875, 2,088; in 1885, 2,714; in 1895, 3,712; in 1905, 5,757, and in 1915, 7,560.

Another fiscal measure of the Republican party, enacted at the same time with the National Bank act, was the Legal Tender act which put into circulation as legal tender for all

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

save certain specified purposes notes of the United States treasury, familiarly known as "greenbacks." This measure was bitterly opposed by the Democrats and its validity was contested in the courts. After much litigation the Supreme Court of the United States in 1883 fully sustained its constitutionality and validity. In a decision in which all but one member of the court concurred it was held that Congress had full power to provide for the issuance of such notes in time of war or of peace and thus to make paper money legal tender. These "greenbacks" and the notes of thousands of national banks have now for a generation been the familiar and favorite circulating medium of the nation. The treasury notes and bank notes are used indifferently and indiscriminately and both are recognized as always and everywhere worth their full face value in gold coin. They form, to the honor of the Republican party, one of the greatest monuments to constructive statesmanship that the world has seen.

In the very foremost rank of beneficent legislation of the Civil War era must be placed the Homestead act. As soon as Republicans secured an influential footing in Congress they moved for legislation which would make it possible for actual settlers to acquire farms in the public domain at a merely nominal cost, and thus develop the agricultural resources of the then unoccupied western prairies and plains. Such a policy was opposed by the southern pro-slavery Democrats who did not wish the free states and territories thus to be improved and accordingly when, in 1860, the Republicans put the first homestead act through Congress President Buchanan vetoed it. But it was presently repassed and went into effect simultaneously with the Emancipation Proclamation, on January 1, 1863. Under this beneficent act any actual settler could acquire absolute title to a quarter section or 160 acres of public land by payment of a registry fee of ten dollars and by then for five years occupying and cultivating the land in question. Within twenty miles of a railroad in a state, or ten miles in a territory, only half that amount could be acquired

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

because of the supposedly greater value of the land within such zones. A supplementary Timber Culture act provided that in regions lacking natural timber growth title to a tract of 160 acres could be acquired by planting ten acres of it in timber and keeping it in good condition for eight years, or a tract of eighty acres by planting and caring for five acres of timber.

It must be remembered that prior to the enactment of these measures public lands had largely been acquired in huge tracts by speculators who then resold to actual settlers at high prices. The Democrats in Congress persistently opposed homestead legislation, because of the attitude of the southern plantation owners. When the first homestead bill was put forward in 1859 every Republican voted for it and every Democrat against it. When it was brought up again in 1860 every Republican voted for it and every Democrat, with the exception of a few from northern states, against it and the Democratic President vetoed it. The Homestead law and its results in the settling and development of the West must be credited, therefore, exclusively to the Republican party. What its results have been may be partially estimated from the fact that in less than thirty years from the enactment of the measure there was thus taken up by settlers a total of 141,606,400 acres, or as much as the area of all the New England and Middle States and the State of Virginia united, these homesteads supporting a population of above six millions.

Nor must we overlook the act for Land Grants to Agricultural Colleges. As early as 1857 Justin S. Morrill introduced into Congress a bill for giving public lands for the founding of colleges of agriculture and the mechanical arts. This was passed by Congress in 1859, but was, like the Homestead bill, vetoed by the Democratic President. Mr. Morrill introduced it again in 1861 when there was a Republican President and it was passed, signed and became law in 1862. This great measure for the common weal gave to each state in the Union—east and west, north and south alike—30,000 acres of public

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

land for each Senator and Representative that it had in Congress, the proceeds of the land to serve as a fund for creating colleges for instruction in agriculture and the mechanical and industrial arts. To states which had no public lands within their borders scrip was issued for lands located elsewhere. About seventy such institutions of practical learning have been established under that system, with a present attendance of probably more than 100,000 students; another incomparable monument to the constructive statesmanship of the Republican party.

Reference has hitherto been made to the Pacific railroads and the recommendations in party platforms that national aid be given to that necessary enterprise. Both parties made such recommendations but it was the Republican party that gave them practical effect. It was under Republican government, on July 1, 1862, that the Pacific Railroad charters were actually issued, and it was under Republican government that bonds were issued to assist in the construction of the roads. The bonds issued aggregated \$64,623,512 and they were practically all repaid to the government, with interest, between the years 1897 and 1899. The great steel highways which connect the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the continent are thus another memorial of the national services of the Republican party.

To save the Nation from dissolution, to make it a nation of free men, to give it a stable and secure banking and currency system, to give millions of its people free homesteads, to conserve and enlarge its natural resources, to provide generously for the most useful education, to provide it with continent-spanning transportation facilities and to give it the industrial primacy of the world; these were the things for which the Republican party stood, and these were the things which it achieved in its first administration of the *Res Publica*, the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER VI

SOME EXTERNAL INTERESTS

While thus the Republican administration was efficiently serving the domestic interests of the nation, there were other matters of commanding importance which required attention in our relation to other countries. The Civil War itself profoundly affected our foreign relations. While the attitude of most of the nations was entirely correct the government of one was persistently unfriendly, while that of another was unsympathetic and permitted itself to be used greatly to the disadvantage of the United States.

Never in all its history was American diplomacy more sorely taxed than it was in the first half of the war to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain and at the same time to vindicate the rights and honor of the nation; and never did it more victoriously acquit itself. The geographical situation of various British colonies and the commercial activities of the British Empire gave that power peculiar interest in the struggle and made it natural that the southern states should look to it for aid. The adoption of the protective tariff system in the United States bore hardly upon British trade and industry and caused for a time a strong turning of British sympathy toward the free trade Confederacy. There was probably never any danger of British intervention. But British recognition of Confederate independence would have been a serious injury to the United States, while British aid to the Confederates, even such as could be given without openly violating the letter of the neutrality law, was only little less detrimental.

Against these adverse circumstances and influences Republican diplomacy worked with a fine blending of resolution and

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

tact. On the one hand the President sent to Great Britain informally several representative citizens who were specially well qualified to make clear to both the British government and the British people the real causes and issues of the war, and to show them how directly and greatly they were in fact interested in the success of the national arms. The result of such work was soon manifested in a great revulsion of British popular sentiment in favor of the North. Even in the great industrial centres where unspeakable distress had been caused by the embargo on cotton, and where at first there was unmeasured hostility to the United States, there was developed almost as marked sympathy with and enthusiasm for the Federal cause as any American city displayed.

At the same time the sturdy Republican statesman who was Minister at the Court of St. James was as inflexible in his maintenance of our rights as ever his famous father and grandfather had been. At the supreme crisis of affairs, when the result of the war here seemed still trembling in the balance, and when the entrance of Great Britain on the side of the South would have cast fearful odds against us, he did not hesitate calmly and imperturbably to say to the British Foreign Secretary concerning an act which the British government had apparently fully decided to do, "I need scarcely point out to your lordship that this means war!" It would have meant war but it did not because in the face of such Republican diplomacy the British government reconsidered the matter and withheld its purposed action. In such fashion did the Republican administration in those trying times uphold the interests and honor of the Republic abroad.

Nor was Mr. Adams, our Minister at London, content with even so great services. He was incessantly alert and vigilant to detect infractions of the neutrality act. As early as 1863 he informed the British government that the United States would make claims against it for indemnity, and as soon as the war closed and the time was ripe for such a settlement he had in hand an overwhelming mass of evidence to prove

SOME EXTERNAL INTERESTS

our case and to substantiate our claims against the British government for the losses which we had sustained through its failure to fulfil its duties as a neutral power. There followed a few years of direct negotiation, culminating in the Geneva Arbitration. That was the most notable case of international arbitration that the world had ever seen. It may truly be said to have founded the succeeding era of arbitration and adjudication of international disputes, opening the way to many other peaceful settlements of controversies which formerly would have led to war, as well as to the great Peace Congresses at The Hague. In that august international court of justice, thanks to Republican principles and Republican statesmanship, the United States won a sweeping victory. Its contentions were upheld and it received a cash award of \$15,500,000, which was ample to cover the direct damages for which indemnity had been demanded. The event was acclaimed by the world as one of the greatest achievements for international peace and justice that history had ever recorded.

While Great Britain was thus largely unsympathetic and neglectful of duty, the French government, under the usurping Emperor Louis Napoleon, was almost undisguisedly hostile. Repeatedly it strove to get other European powers to join it in forcible intervention in behalf of the Confederacy. The Emperor's object was plain. He was engaged in an invasion of Mexico, with the purpose of conquering and annexing that country, and he knew that to that end it would be necessary to get rid of the Monroe Doctrine, and to do this it would be necessary to destroy the United States. If he could secure the success of the Confederacy he would have a clear field for the establishment of a French empire in Mexico. But he dared not intervene alone and he could not get either Great Britain or Russia to join him, though he besought them both to do so; so he had to be content with giving Confederate agents all the hospitality he could show them, and giving to Confederate cruisers the freedom of his ports.

With the French campaign in Mexico it was not possible

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

at once to deal. All our available troops were needed on our own side of the Rio Grande. But Republican diplomacy was not negligent. Seward, Secretary of State, instructed our Minister at Paris, William L. Dayton, to make it quite clear to the French government that while we had, of course, no objections to France's collecting her just pecuniary claims against Mexico, that being the ostensible purpose of her invasion of that country, we could not acquiesce in any action which would change the form of government of that country or deprive it of its independence. Despite this warning Louis Napoleon persisted in his schemes and put the Hapsburg Archduke, Maximilian, upon the throne of Mexico as a puppet Emperor. The United States protested against this, refused to give Maximilian any recognition whatever and maintained friendly relations with the native Mexican government, though its President, Benito Juarez, was a fugitive in the northern mountains.

But 1865 came at last. With the end of the Civil War the United States, with an efficient army in the field, was ready to enforce its diplomatic demands with military acts. The Republican administration promptly read the international riot act to Louis Napoleon, practically ordering him to withdraw his army from Mexico. He tried to temporize, offering to remove his troops if the United States would recognize Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico. This the United States flatly refused to do, but instead it entered into closer relations with the Mexican republican government which was then in the field waging vigorous war against the invaders. At that Louis Napoleon gave up his enterprise and withdrew his army from Mexico with all possible haste, the "empire" of Maximilian collapsed in the tragedy of his death and the independent Republic of Mexico was restored.

Meantime a third great achievement of Republican statesmanship was in progress in the far north. Before the war there had been a futile proposal to purchase the Russian province in America known as Alaska, though with no notion of

SOME EXTERNAL INTERESTS

the real value of that country. During the war and before the practicability of a transatlantic telegraphic cable was established, American attention was again called to that region through an attempt to build by way of Alaska and Siberia an overland telegraph line to Europe. Finally, at the close of the war, Russia indicated a readiness to sell the territory to the United States. The first great Republican Secretary of State, Seward, welcomed the proposal, partly because of its accordance with the Monroe and Polk doctrines and partly because of some strange prescience of the material value of the territory. Since under the doctrines mentioned the United States would not permit a European power to transfer its American territory to another European power, this country was morally obligated itself to take such territory off the hands of the power which wished to get rid of it. For that reason, if for no other, Seward would have purchased Alaska. But in addition he believed it to be a region of vast wealth, and he regarded the Pacific as "the Ocean of the Future" and deemed it desirable for the United States to establish itself as fully and extensively as possible upon its shores. Seeing that Alaska today has an import trade of \$45,000,000 and an export trade of \$75,000,000 a year, there is in the fact that Seward purchased the whole territory outright for only \$7,200,000 a most impressive memorial of the shrewdness, the foresight and the wisdom of the Republican statesmanship of that day.

CHAPTER VII

RESTORING THE UNION

The first great question before the nation at the close of the Civil War was that of the restoration of the southern states to a normal status under the Constitution. They had attempted to secede and withdraw entirely and permanently from the Union and the Constitution. But the Republican party had insisted that they had no right to do so and that in fact they could not do so. Its contention in that respect was settled by the war. In its view the seceding states had not been out of the Union and therefore did not need formal readmission to it. But they had for four years ceased to be represented in the government of the nation and a majority of their citizens had renounced allegiance to the Federal Union and its Constitution. The question was, therefore, through what process and on what terms and conditions they were to resume their normal relationship to the Union and their participation in its national government.

Before and preliminary to this, indeed, there arose the question of the authority to determine the terms and conditions of such restoration, and over that there was a vigorous controversy. Andrew Johnson, who had succeeded to the Presidency on the assassination of Lincoln, coming of Democratic antecedents and having an exaggerated estimate of the powers and functions of his office, regarded such determination as a purely administrative prerogative. During the recess of Congress in the summer of 1865 he put into effect a plan of his own devising, concerning which he had not so much as consulted Congress, and in the fall, at the opening of the session, he submitted it to Congress for its approval.

This approval it did not receive. While some of its features

RESTORING THE UNION

were commendable others were decidedly objectionable. It was felt by the great majority of Republicans in Congress and throughout the country that it did not sufficiently confirm and safeguard the results of the war, either in invalidating secession or in protecting the emancipated negroes in their freedom. It did not, in brief, adequately guarantee fulfilment of Lincoln's resolution "that these dead shall not have died in vain." In addition to that, it was the Republican contention that this was a matter for Congressional rather than Presidential determination. It was something in which the whole people were intensely interested and in which they had a right to be heard through their chosen representatives. For the President to determine it would be an exercise of one-man autocracy repugnant to the principles of a democracy. During the war, under military exigencies, the President had exercised extraordinary powers, even to the temporary and local suspension of the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*. All that was permissible under his war powers as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. But with the ending of the war and the return to peace these extraordinary powers must cease, and the affairs of the nation must be conducted according to the normal methods of the Constitution, with all laws made by Congress, interpreted by the Judiciary and executed by the President. That was the policy of the Republican party as against the attempted autocracy of the misguided President and it was supported by the overwhelming mass of the American people. In the conflict which arose over it the House of Representatives presented a bill of impeachment against the President and he narrowly escaped conviction and removal from office.

The Republican majority in Congress was sufficiently large to enable it to enact legislation over the President's veto, and it accordingly set itself to the task of reconstruction with little regard for his vagaries. His stubborn refusal to co-operate with Congress, however, and a certain unaccommodating spirit which his course had provoked and fostered in the lately seceding states, greatly added to the arduousness of a task

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

which in any case would have been of enormous difficulty, with the result that the ensuing years of the "Reconstruction Era" were marked with some regrettable incidents and circumstances not properly chargeable to the Republican government and party. On the other hand, as direct results of the application of Republican principles, those years were conspicuously marked with some of the finest achievements in reconciliatory and reconstructive statesmanship that the world has ever seen.

The first principle was to treat the lately seceding states as having always remained members of the Union. There was no thought of altering their boundaries, their names, their divisions, their capitals. The map of the United States was to remain unchanged. Their citizens, too, were held always to have remained American citizens, though certain of their civil rights had been temporarily forfeited by their own acts. There was no proscription or attainder, there was no confiscation of property, there were no punitive measures. All that was required was that they should in good faith abandon their pretensions of secession and declare their loyal allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. On their doing this full amnesty was freely granted with the complete restoration of all civil and political rights. In consequence of this unprecedented generosity of treatment, in the course of a few years many seats in both Houses of Congress, in the President's Cabinet, and on the bench of the Federal courts were filled by men who had been commanders of the Confederate army and high officers of the Confederate government. In such a spirit of confident generosity did the Republican party through its Congress effect the reconstruction of the nation after the storm and stress of the Civil War.

There was something more to be done. After safeguarding the Union, there must be a safeguarding of the freedom which had been given to the slaves. The slaves had been set free, as an incident of the war, and their re-enslavement would be forbidden by constitutional amendment. An amendment to that effect was proposed to the states by the Republican Congress

RESTORING THE UNION

on February 1, 1865, and was ratified by the votes of the Republican states—some Democratic states refusing to ratify it—December 18, 1865. But Republican statesmanship did not contemplate merely setting the negroes free and setting them adrift to shift for themselves. They were ignorant, propertyless, helpless. Under President Johnson's ill-devised scheme of "reconstruction" they would have been subject to vagrancy laws which would have made their condition even more deplorable than it had been under slavery. Republicans held that it was not for such an end that the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued and the war fought to a triumphant finish. The abolition of slavery had been an act of the nation. The anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution was an act of the nation. It was therefore incumbent upon the nation, and was not to be left to the states, to protect the men who had been set free, to safeguard their civil rights and to give them a "square deal" and a fair chance to enjoy the privileges of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" under the Constitution of the United States.

In pursuance of this wise and humane policy the Republicans in Congress enacted, despite Democratic opposition, a bill establishing a Freedmen's Bureau as a part of the national administration, thus giving national guardianship to the negroes as temporary wards of the nation. Following this came a Civil Rights law which recognized negroes as citizens of the United States—they had long been citizens of many of the states—safeguarded them in their rights of person and of property and forbade discrimination against them by any state laws. The purpose was to extend to the different races the same noble principle of democracy that the Republican party had adopted among individuals in society, of "equal rights for all, special privileges for none." The purpose was to require the states of this Republic uniformly thus to treat their citizens, regardless of the color of their skins. The fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence was to be the fundamental principle of the nation of which that declaration was the primal

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

charter. That was Republican statesmanship in dealing with the aftermath of human slavery.

In order to make this principle secure against any possible repudiation by a subsequent Congress of a different political faith, the next step taken was the incorporation of it in an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This Fourteenth Amendment was proposed to the states by the Republican Congress on June 16, 1866, and its ratification was proclaimed on July 28, 1868. It was promptly ratified by the votes of twenty-three northern and Republican states; three Democratic border states and ten Democratic southern states at first rejected it but the southern states afterward ratified it. This amendment provided that all persons born or naturalized in the United States should be citizens of the United States and of the states in which they lived; and that no state should abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizen, nor deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. In this there was no reference whatever to "race, color or previous condition of servitude" or to the right of suffrage; the latter being left for subsequent action.

In the same amendment, the most elaborate ever adopted, there were included several other important provisions for the permanent and immutable readjustment of national issues affected by the result of the war. One had to do with representation in Congress. According to the Constitution Representatives in Congress were apportioned among the states according to their population and not according to the number of their actual citizens or of the votes cast; but the population was to be reckoned as consisting of all the free persons and three-fifths of the slaves. That arrangement was always repugnant to Republicans because it violated the principle of equality of suffrage, making the vote of a white citizen of a slave state much more powerful than that of a citizen of a free state. To retain that principle in the Constitution after the abolition of slavery would make the conditions still worse. For

RESTORING THE UNION

then representation would be based upon not merely three-fifths but the whole number of negroes in the former slave states, while the right to vote would be enjoyed by only the whites. Thus in a state in which half the population was black, each white voter would have two or three times the voting power of one in a state where there were few or no blacks. To cite precise figures: In a northern state there would be one Representative to every 127,000 voters, while in a southern state there would be one Representative to every 45,000 voters. The southern Members of Congress would thus represent not only the white men who actually voted for them but also a larger number of negroes who were not permitted to vote.

This was obviously unfair. It gave the southern states an undue advantage over the northern. Accordingly it was provided in the Fourteenth Amendment that if in any state the right of suffrage was denied to male adults for any cause save crime, the number of Representatives apportioned to that state should be correspondingly reduced. That meant that representation would be based not upon gross population but upon the voting population. It did not interfere with the right of a state to make its own suffrage laws and to exclude citizens from the exercise of that right, but it served notice that for such exclusion a state would have to pay a penalty in reduced Congressional representation. It made straight for what afterward became known as "equal suffrage," the principle that every responsible adult person should be a citizen in the complete sense of the term, that every citizen should have one vote and no more, and that all votes should be of equal value.

The third section of this amendment provided that no person should hold office under the United States or under any state who, having previously held office and having therefore taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, had thereafter engaged in insurrection against the Constitution or had given comfort or aid to its enemies. But, it was added, Congress might, by a two-thirds vote of each House, remove

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

such disability. The real purpose of this section was embodied in the last clause. It was not so much to impose the disabilities upon participants in the Civil War from the southern side as to vest in Congress, rather than in the President, the power to remove those disabilities; which the Republican Congress thereafter proceeded to do with a promptness and a completeness not approximated in similar circumstances by any other nation in the world.

Still another section had to do with public debts. It declared that the validity of the legally authorized public debt of the United States, including that incurred for bounties and pensions for the national soldiers in the Civil War, should never be questioned; but that on the other hand neither the United States nor any state should ever assume or pay any debt contracted in aid of insurrection against the United States, or any claim for loss through the emancipation of any slave. This was intended to prevent any attempt to secure payments of the debt incurred on the bonds issued by the late Confederate States, an attempt which, but for that provision of the Constitution, would doubtless have been made.

This formidable amendment, comprising these four topics, was purely of Republican authorship and advocacy. Proposed to the states in June, 1866, it was naturally the foremost political issue before the people in the Congressional campaign of that summer and fall, and was very widely debated upon the stump and in the press. The President, having broken with the Republican party, threw all the influence of his administration against that party, and in consequence of that circumstance the Republicans that year organized for the first time the Congressional Campaign Committee which has in every second year since then played an important part in national politics. The contest was between the "Congressional Party" and the "Presidential Party," the former consisting of the great mass of the Republican party and a few "War Democrats," and the latter of the mass of the Democratic party and a few Republicans who followed the President in his vagaries. The result of the

RESTORING THE UNION

polling was an overwhelming Republican victory, that party securing a more than two-thirds majority of the new Congress. Obviously, the nation repudiated the President and his policy and approved the Republican party and its plans for the reorganization of affairs.

The rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by the ten southern states temporarily prevented the ratification of that instrument. It also indicated the revival of the sectional spirit which had in the past been so prolific of evil. The Republican leaders therefore determined to adopt more rigorous measures for the reconstruction of the South and the settlement of the issues of the war. Thus far the lately seceded states had been under governments and constitutions approved by the President but never sanctioned by Congress, and they were implacably hostile to the proposed establishment of universal citizenship and equal rights. Congress accordingly set aside those governments and substituted a temporary military administration, which made it clear that the restoration of the states to their normal place in the Union was dependent upon their acceptance of the results of the war as set forth in the Fourteenth Amendment. They must establish equal manhood suffrage, without regard to race. This they presently did and of course under such suffrage the Fourteenth Amendment was promptly ratified by them. By 1870, five years after the end of the war, the last of the formerly seceding states was fully reestablished in its place in the Federal Union.

Meantime, another constitutional amendment was deemed needful to complete the work of reconstruction. The states had granted the suffrage to the former slaves, but there was lacking sufficient guarantee that they would not at some future time withdraw it. Accordingly the Fifteenth Amendment was drafted by the Republican leaders, adopted by the Republican majority in Congress and proposed to the states on February 27, 1869, and was proclaimed as ratified on March 30, 1870. It was brief, and to the point, providing that "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or

CONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." The southern states being then generally under Republican control, the amendment was ratified by nearly all of them. Tennessee did not act upon it at all. Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, California and Oregon rejected it. New Jersey at first rejected but afterward accepted it. New York ratified it and then rescinded its ratification. With the secure embodiment of this amendment in the Constitution, the legislative work of the Republican party for confirming the results of the war and for adapting the nation to the new conditions which followed the war seemed to be complete.

MATERIAL INTERESTS

CHAPTER VIII

FINANCIAL INTEGRITY

During the period of political reconstruction occurred in 1868 the fourth presidential campaign of the Republican party, with new issues before the nation. The vagaries of President Johnson had completely alienated him from the party which had four years before elected him to the Vice-Presidency and had so discredited him that the Democratic party did not regard him as an available candidate. He received a few votes in the Democratic convention but that body, after a long contest, finally nominated Horatio Seymour who had been Governor of New York during the latter part of the Civil War and had won unenviable notoriety by regarding the war as a failure and by cringing and catering to the criminal mobs which in New York City sought by rioting and arson to hamper the national government in its prosecution of the war. The platform was largely devoted to railing against the Republican party for its reconstruction measures in the South, declaring them to be "unconstitutional, revolutionary and void," and demanded the taxation of government bonds in violation of the terms on which they were issued and the regulation of the elective franchise by the states so that the former slave states would be able perpetually to exclude the negroes from the polls.

The Republican convention met at Chicago on May 20 and, on the first roll call for the purpose, unanimously nominated for the Presidency General Ulysses S. Grant. For Vice-President, on the fifth ballot, it named Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Speaker of the House of Representatives and one of the original members of the Republican party. The platform approved the reconstruction policy of Congress and the con-

MATERIAL INTERESTS

stitutional amendments, condemned the Johnson administration and congratulated the South upon the readiness and loyalty with which its leaders were accepting the verdict of the war and were resuming their places in the life of the Republic. It then specially emphasized the need of keeping scrupulously all national obligations and paying all national indebtedness in good faith, in the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. It urged the gradual discharge of the great war debt to be extended over a considerable period of time, with such reductions of interest from time to time as might be made possible by the willingness of capitalists, in an era of increasing prosperity, to lend money at lower rates. Another important plank declared that the doctrine of some European powers that a person once a subject must always remain so "must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of feudal times" and that our naturalized citizens must be as fully protected in their rights as the native citizens. The assertion and maintenance of this great principle by the Republican party effected a most salutary change in international law under which all powers were constrained to recognize the right of expatriation.

The ensuing campaign was an animated one, but the result was never in doubt. The immense popularity of General Grant, the equivocal attitude of Mr. Seymour on issues of supreme importance and the protection afforded by the Federal government to the negro voters of the South, assured a sweeping Republican victory. In the closing weeks of the campaign there was a noteworthy movement by business men, without regard to party, in support of the Republican ticket because of the sound declarations of the Republican platform concerning national finance. The result of the election was, with the three States of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas not yet qualified to vote and with Florida choosing Presidential electors through her legislature, that Grant carried 26 states, with 214 electoral and 3,012,833 popular votes, while Seymour carried only 8 states with 80 electoral and 2,703,249 popular votes.

FINANCIAL INTEGRITY

Apart from the political problems of southern reconstruction, already described, the foremost issue in national life now became that of finance. This was a complicated question. There was an enormous public debt, on much of which interest must be paid, and for the ultimate payment of which provision must be made. A part of this debt was, however, in the form of treasury notes or "greenbacks" which had been made legal tender for most purposes; and which must be made and kept at par with gold and be redeemed in gold upon demand, and perhaps ultimately be thus retired from circulation. Then there was the task of "resuming specie payments," or of bringing the value of depreciated treasury notes and bank notes back to par with gold.

To these tasks the Republican party in Congress and in the administration after the inauguration of President Grant addressed itself with courage, efficiency and consummate skill. It had to do so in the face of Democratic opposition. During the war Democrats had inveighed against the issuing of bonds, saying that they never could or would be paid. They had denounced the "greenbacks" as illegal and fraudulent. Now after the war they demanded that the bonds be taxed, which obviously would have been equivalent to reducing arbitrarily the rate of interest on them; and also that the principal of the bonds be paid at once with a fresh issue of "greenbacks" which, with "greenbacks" at a discount of ten or twenty per cent or more, would obviously have been equivalent to partial repudiation of the bonds.

Against all such forms and degrees of repudiation the Republicans set their faces as a flint, insisting that the faith of the nation must be kept sacred at no matter what cost. The bonds must remain untaxed according to the understanding at their issuance; they must be paid, interest and principal, in gold or money at par with gold; and all currency must be brought back to par with gold. On March 18, 1869, a law was enacted pledging the payment of all government indebtedness in specie. In the achievement of this Herculean task the Republican gov-

MATERIAL INTERESTS

ernment was greatly aided by other features of the policies which it had adopted. The protective tariff system, which it had adopted before the war for the sake of American industry and the rates of which had been increased during the war to provide needed revenue, proved immensely successful. It caused the establishment of great new industries and the expansion of others; the maintenance of good wages for American workingmen; the supplying of the American market with American-made goods in place of foreign, often of better quality and at lower prices than the foreign; and at the same time an abundant revenue to be applied not only to the current expenses of government but also to the extinguishment of the public debt. Another copious source of governmental income was found in the internal revenue, especially the tax upon alcoholic liquors and tobacco. This had originated as a war measure, but it was generally recognized as highly desirable for continuance in time of peace. And although it was not until 1875 that a law was enacted providing for the resumption of specie payments, making "greenbacks" and national bank notes as good as gold on January 1, 1879, such action was long before anticipated and the fiscal policy of the government was early directed to that end.

It was not all easy going. Back in President Johnson's administration an attempt had been made to reduce the volume of treasury notes in circulation. This meant contraction of currency, and that had an unfavorable effect upon business; wherefore Congress enacted a law forbidding any further such attempts. Later, under President Grant, the contrary course was essayed. It was thought that business depression was due to lack of circulating medium, and a bill was passed providing for a considerable increase in the issue of "greenbacks." This was done by the Democratic House of Representatives in 1875, the first Democratic House since before the war. President Grant and his Republican advisers rightly perceived that such inflation of the currency would make more difficult if not impossible the resumption of specie payments at the appointed

FINANCIAL INTEGRITY

time and would really aggravate the trouble which it purported to be meant to relieve. He vetoed the bill, to the unmeasured gratification of business men throughout the country and of all believers in sound national finance.

Others raged against him and there arose a so-called "Greenback Party" or "Fiat Money Party" whose members held that money could be created with the printing press; and that the government, instead of seeking resumption of specie payments, which they insisted could never be effected, should print and issue vast quantities of treasury notes which were not to be redeemable in gold or silver and which were to be made compulsory legal tender for all purposes. With these, they insisted, the government bonds should be paid off and the national debt extinguished. Some members of the Republican party became afflicted with this lunacy, but the overwhelming mass of the party remained steadfast for sound money, for resumption of specie payments and for honest payment of the national debt in gold. In this policy the Republican government was successful and at the appointed time, without the slightest appreciable disturbance of the money market or of business, specie payments were resumed. "Greenbacks" and national notes everywhere throughout the United States became automatically worth their face value in standard gold coin and exchangeable for it upon demand. The superior convenience of paper money for ordinary uses made people, however, prefer it to gold and silver, and save in a few cases out of curiosity there was no inclination to make the exchange. Meantime the principal of the debt was being reduced rapidly, and was being refunded at much lower rates of interest, until its ultimate extinction seemed sure to occur in the near future. The fiscal reorganization of the country was complete and the Republican party added to its credit a record of efficiency and public beneficence comparable with that made in the saving of the Union and the freeing of a race of slaves.

CHAPTER IX

PROGRESS AND REFORM

Early in President Grant's first term the Republican party had the profound gratification of marking the beginning of a new and most advanced and beneficent era in the international relations of the world. This was the recognition of the right of expatriation. Down to that time European nations had denied the right of their subjects to renounce their allegiance and to become citizens of the United States. When such naturalized citizens of the United States revisited their former homes they were often seized as deserters and subjected to penalties, or were subjected to the laws of those countries as though they had never left them. The Republican party, standing supremely for the rights of man, insisted from the outset that every man in the world had a right to choose for himself to what nation he would belong and to what government he would give allegiance. As already recorded, it made that demand a conspicuous and unequivocal plank in its platform. At an opportune time, in 1868, it proceeded from words to acts. Congress enacted a law asserting that right and indicating the purpose of this government to enforce and to vindicate that right in behalf of all its naturalized citizens. The matter was one of high importance, for at that time the volume of immigration from various European lands was great and was increasing, and nearly all of the immigrants purposed to become naturalized.

It was of course desirable to have that principle recognized by the nations which had theretofore denied it, by means of treaties or otherwise. In 1868 several such treaties were made with various German States and with Belgium, and in 1869

PROGRESS AND REFORM

with Sweden and Norway. The German treaties were of little significance, however, since the German Empire in 1871 practically repudiated them with respect to all male immigrants who could by any jugglery be charged with having evaded or failed to perform their full quota of compulsory military service. The really important establishment of the principle occurred in 1870 when there was promulgated a treaty, which had been made in 1869, between the United States and Great Britain, in which the British government unequivocally recognized the right of its subjects or citizens to renounce their allegiance and become Americans, and to enjoy thereafter the same protection from the American government and the same consideration and respect from the British government that native American citizens enjoyed. After that it was only a question of time when every nation in the world was compelled to give the same recognition to that great Republican doctrine of the right of the individual man to self-determination.

It was in Grant's first year, too, on May 10, 1869, that another great work was achieved through the wisdom of Republican statesmanship and the energy of Republican enterprise. This was the completion of the first Pacific railroad. On the day named the two roads which for several years had been pushed, the one from the Mississippi Valley westward, the other from the Pacific coast eastward, met at Promontory Point, and the last spike was driven "with a silver hammer and a golden nail." The line was 1,914 miles long from Omaha to San Francisco, and the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were thus connected by a highway of steel and steam. There followed other comparable undertakings. It was in 1869 that the government began the gigantic work of removing the dangerous obstructions at Hell Gate in New York Harbor, and in the following year it committed itself to the project of a trans-Isthmian canal at Darien or Panama.

The year 1870 saw all the southern states fully restored to participation in the national government, with the political rights of most of the former Confederates also restored while

MATERIAL INTERESTS

the enfranchisement of the negro race was emphasized by the election of some of its members to both Houses of Congress. Many of the stamp taxes and other domestic imposts of war times were abolished or reduced, and there were also substantial reductions of the tariff on imports, particularly on tea, coffee, sugar, and other articles of popular use. The army was reduced to a peace footing of only 30,000 men.

One of the greatest administrative reforms in the history of the government was begun in March, 1871, in the establishment of the merit system in the civil service. More than forty years before the Democratic party, under Andrew Jackson, had established the spoils system under which there was a "clean sweep" at every change of administration and loyalty and usefulness to the party, rather than efficiency for public service, was made the requirement for officeholding from the highest places down to the most humble. The abuses which thus crept into the government were widespread and scandalous, but no serious and efficient attempt to correct them was made until the first Grant administration and the Forty-first Congress, both of course Republican. Then a law was made empowering the President to make rules for admission to the civil service of the nation. Under that law there was appointed the first United States Civil Service Commission, consisting of George William Curtis, Alexander G. Cattell, Joseph Medill, D. A. Walker, E. B. Ellicott, Joseph H. Blackfan and David C. Cox. The keynote of the movement was that fitness for the place was to supersede political "pull." It was reserved for a later Republican administration and Congress to develop the system fully, but this first act was an irrevocable step toward the great reform.

In 1872 the great postal reform of issuing so-called postal cards was established; internal taxes on food were abolished together with the import duties on tea and coffee; the income tax and most of the stamp taxes were repealed; the Geneva Arbitration resulted in the award of \$15,500,000 indemnity to the United States for the damage done by Confederate cruisers

PROGRESS AND REFORM

through British negligence or connivance; and the San Juan boundary at the extreme northwest was established in favor of the United States through international arbitration. Despite these great achievements of the Republican party for the profit and honor of the nation, however, there arose within its own ranks a certain dissatisfaction which increased to actual hostility. This was in part aroused because of the necessity of enacting and executing some strenuous laws for the enforcement of the new constitutional amendments and for the vindication of the equal civil rights of citizens in the South. A widespread and murderous conspiracy against such rights was organized, known as the Ku-Klux-Klan, against which the national government was compelled to use much force. These disturbances made it inevitable that there should be further delay in removing all the political disabilities of some former Confederates. In addition to these things, the comparative inexperience of President Grant in civil administration and the too great trust which he, in his own transparent honesty, sometimes reposed in other men led to some more or less serious acts of maladministration and even of corruption in the government, such as had been suffered by almost every preceding administration; and these were exploited and magnified for political purposes by the enemies of the President and his party.

As early as 1870 a number of disaffected Republicans in Missouri, calling themselves "Liberals," united with the Democrats and defeated the Republicans in the state election. The movement was extended to other states and in consequence the Republican majority in Congress was somewhat reduced by that fall's elections. In 1872 various "Liberal Republican" conventions were held, and finally in May a national convention of that faction was held at Cincinnati, at which after much dispute and uncertainty Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri were nominated for President and Vice-President. Mr. Greeley was one of the most eminent newspaper editors of the country and had been one of the founders of the Republican party. But his course had gen-

MATERIAL INTERESTS

erally been eccentric. He had opposed his one-time political partner, Seward, for the Presidency in 1860 because of personal pique at Seward's having declined to advance his political and office-seeking ambitions; he had raised the untimely cry of "Forward to Richmond!" in 1861 which led to the disaster of Bull Run; he had bitterly opposed Lincoln's administration because Lincoln would not issue the Emancipation Proclamation as soon as he wished; he had advocated the severest possible punishment for all the participants in secession; and yet, soon after the close of the war, he had gone upon the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis. Despite his great abilities as a political writer and the purity and benevolence of his character and motives he was obviously not a man of sound leadership. The platform of this convention was devoted chiefly to denunciation of President Grant and his administration. It expressed adherence to most of the principles of the Republican party, though in a somewhat equivocal manner, and was obviously intended to be so vague and neutral as to be acceptable, or at least not unacceptable, to all who were for any reason dissatisfied with or opposed to the Republican party. Indeed, the prevailing cry at the convention was, "anything to beat Grant!"

The Democrats met in national convention at Baltimore on July 9 and, realizing the hopelessness of running a ticket of their own, with little demur ratified the candidates of the Liberal Republicans; thus accepting as their leader the man whom down to that day they had most of all reviled and detested and who had been their bitterest foe and most scathing critic in the American press. They also adopted without change, save of party name, the platform of the Liberals. This provoked a revolt of many Democrats who held another convention at Louisville, Ky., and nominated Charles O'Connor of New York for President and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President on a platform of state rights, strict construction of the Constitution and a tariff for revenue only.

Amid all this "sound and fury, signifying nothing," the Re-

PROGRESS AND REFORM

publican party pursued the steadfast tenor of its way. It met in convention at Philadelphia on June 5, unanimously re-nominated President Grant and named Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The platform recounted the achievements of the party during its eleven years' control of the national government. It pledged the party to a comprehensive scheme of progressive and constructive statesmanship, including civil service reform; reservation of public lands for homesteads for actual settlers; a tariff for revenue so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages for American workmen and to promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country; pensions for soldiers and sailors; the maintenance of the rights of American citizens abroad, naturalized as well as native; abolition of the much-abused franking privilege and reduction of the rates of postage; legislation to give protection and opportunity to capital, and to labor a just share of the profits of industry; and the restoration of American shipbuilding and ocean commerce.

In this platform for the first time in the platform of either of the great parties appeared a cordial recognition of the obligations of the nation to the women of America "for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom"; an expression of satisfaction at their entrance into wider spheres of activity and usefulness; and a pledge of respectful consideration for whatever demands they might make for additional rights as citizens. From that platform utterance of the Republican party in June, 1872, dates the real achievement of "votes for women" throughout the United States.

Various other conventions were held that year of minor parties and factions, serving chiefly to illustrate the futility of such movements. Among them were those of the Prohibition party, the Labor Reform party and the Liberal Colored Republicans.

At no time was the result of the campaign in doubt, the only question being as to the size of the Republican majority. Greeley carried Maryland, Georgia, Texas, Missouri, Kentucky

MATERIAL INTERESTS

and Tennessee with 63 electoral votes, and received 2,834,125 popular votes. Grant carried all the other states with 286 electoral votes, and received 3,597,132 popular votes. The "straight-out" Democrats polled only 29,489 votes for Mr. O'Connor and the Prohibition candidate got 5,608 votes. Of course a strongly Republican Congress was elected at the same time.

Following this election the Forty-second Congress continued to the end of its term its work of constructive legislation. It abolished the franking privilege for Members of Congress, which has since been restored; and it established the inestimably valuable Life Saving Service on the Atlantic Coast. It also early in February, 1873, took the very important action of discontinuing after April 1 the coinage of the standard silver dollar, confining silver coinage to subsidiary coins and to "trade dollars" for use chiefly in Asiatic commerce and not legal tender in the United States. This was the first step in the protracted controversy over the "silver question" which did not, however, become acute until a number of years later, when it convulsed the nation in two campaigns.

The Forty-third Congress, in Grant's second term, continued the good work. It abolished all duties on tea and coffee, and made great reductions of import duties. It provided for the sale of public lands containing coal to encourage mining; passed stringent laws for the protection of animals from cruelty while being transported on railroads or otherwise; required national banks to restore their capital when impaired; and encouraged the growth of timber on the treeless western plains. It authorized the establishment of public marine schools for instruction in navigation and seamanship to encourage the American shipping industry. Then, near the end of its term, the Senate in December, 1874, and the House in January, 1875, enacted a bill, which President Grant signed on January 14th, providing, as hereinbefore stated, for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. In both Senate and House, every Republican voted for this measure and every Democrat voted

PROGRESS AND REFORM

against it. One of the last important acts of this Republican Congress was the appropriation of \$5,200,000 for the construction of jetties for the improvement of navigation at the mouth of the Mississippi River, an act of immense value to the commerce of the central part of the United States and of national importance.

Despite this record of usefulness, a serious financial panic accompanied with widespread business depression in 1873 caused such political reaction that in the fall of 1874 the Democrats made great gains and elected a strong majority in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress; their first majority in that body since 1859. The Republicans, however, retained a majority in the Senate.

CHAPTER X

PROMOTING AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

With the return of a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives which met in 1875, the period of Republican control of the government ended and thereafter authority and responsibility were divided between the two parties with the natural result of greatly diminished efficiency. The President continued his prudently progressive Republican policies, establishing in September, 1875, the system of fast mail trains which effected so great an improvement in the mail service; and later in the same year making a noteworthy recommendation for universal secular and compulsory education. He was, however, largely dependent upon Congress for support, and the two Houses were seldom able to agree save on the most necessary routine matters. The Republican Senate was generally able, however, to thwart the reactionary proposals of the Democratic House, and to maintain the governmental policies which had proved so beneficial to the country.

A noteworthy enterprise of the Grant administration was the giving of national patronage to the world's fair at Philadelphia with which the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was commemorated. This exhibition of the industry, commerce and art of all nations was the most extensive ever thus far held in the world, and it had an effect of inestimable value in acquainting America and the rest of the world with each other and in stimulating the domestic industry and foreign commerce of the United States.

Meantime the question of the tariff, of protection or free trade, increased in importance and became more and more a direct issue between the two parties, the great mass of Repub-

PROMOTING AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

licans inclining toward a tariff for the protection of American industry and the great mass of Democrats toward a "revenue tariff" or free trade. In 1872 the Republican platform had declared plainly for a tariff which, while of course primarily for revenue, should be so adjusted as to favor American interests. The Liberal Republican and Democratic platform evaded the issue by remitting it to Congress for its determination; an equivocal course which was necessary because the majority of the Democrats were pronounced free traders, while their candidate, Mr. Greeley, was an extreme protectionist. In the platforms of 1876 more definite stands were taken. The Republicans declared that tariff duties, levied for the primary purpose of revenue, "should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country." The Democrats denounced the protective tariff as "a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretence," and demanded that "all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue."

In that year the Republicans, after a spirited contest among various candidates, nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President on a platform which, beside the tariff plank, confirmed the results of the war, and demanded resumption of specie payments, protection of the free public school system, the reservation of public lands for free homes for the people, the protection of American citizens impartially, whether native or naturalized, and the suppression of polygamy as a "relic of barbarism." It also recognized with approval the substantial advances made by various Republican state legislatures toward the establishment of equal citizenship rights for women, and repeated the former pledge of respectful consideration for all demands for the further extension of those rights. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President on a platform composed more like a stump speech than a programme of statesmanship. It denounced practically everything that the

MATERIAL INTERESTS

Republican government had done, especially its fiscal policy, and demanded the repeal of the act for the resumption of specie payments.

The ensuing campaign was comparatively spiritless. In a number of states gross frauds were committed, both in the voting and in the counting of votes and making of returns, and in consequence the result of the election was disputed. The controversy was made the worse by the lack of legislation for the canvassing of the electoral votes and declaration of the result. A compromise was finally arrived at between the Republican Senate and the Democratic House, under which a special Electoral Commission was constituted, consisting of five Senators, five Representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court to pass upon the whole matter and declare the result of the election. This commission contained eight Republicans and seven Democrats. After long and painstaking consideration, it finally decided that Hayes and Wheeler had received 185 and Tilden and Hendricks 184 electoral votes, and that the former were therefore elected. Although bitterly protested against by Democrats, this decision was loyally acquiesced in and its substantial justice has been strongly confirmed by the deliberate judgment of posterity. It may be added that of the popular vote the Democratic ticket received about 4,300,000 and the Republican ticket about 4,035,000 votes. The Greenback party, seeking payment of the national debt with irredeemable paper money, polled 81,737 votes for Peter Cooper of New York and the Prohibitionists 9,522 for Green Clay Smith of Kentucky.

Soon after his installation as President, Mr. Hayes withdrew the Federal troops from the southern states, which had been used to protect negroes in their right to vote, and in consequence the negro vote was almost entirely suppressed by terrorism, force and fraud, and the governments of the southern states and their delegations to Congress became and long remained solidly Democratic. In the first half of Hayes's term the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic;

PROMOTING AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

and in the second half, from 1879 to 1881, both were Democratic. In these circumstances there was and could be little profitable legislation. The Senate and President at first, and afterward the President alone, prevented the Democrats from repealing the Resumption act or destroying the protective tariff system, while the Democrats of the House did all they could to embarrass the President by withholding necessary appropriations and by employing other annoying devices. In these circumstances, popular sentiment soon revolted against Democratic rule. Following the great Republican triumph in the successful resumption of specie payments at the beginning of 1879, the state elections of that year showed a decided drift toward Republicanism. The administration of President Hayes was clean, efficient and progressive, despite the obstacles offered by Democratic obstructionists. The Republican party was united and encouraged and the whole nation was prosperous.

In 1880 the Republicans adopted a platform reaffirming their established principles, especially the maintenance of constitutional authority, the promotion of popular education, a tariff discriminating in favor of American labor, no further grants of public lands to corporations, suppression of polygamy, protection to American citizens, and improvements of rivers and harbors for the benefit of commerce. It also called for such action, through treaty-making or legislation, as would protect the United States from the evils of unrestricted Mongolian immigration. On this platform James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York were nominated for President and Vice-President. There was a strong movement in the convention for the renomination of President Grant, but it failed and the whole party harmoniously entered the campaign for the election of Garfield.

The Democratic convention adopted a platform denouncing the election and seating of President Hayes as a fraud and Mr. Hayes personally as a criminal usurper, demanding "honest money consisting of gold and silver, and paper con-

MATERIAL INTERESTS

vertible into coin on demand"; and "a tariff for revenue only." Its money plank was obviously an acceptance of the identical Republican principles which the Democrats had formerly opposed and denounced, and in various other details the platform substantially agreed with that of the Republicans. The chief difference was in respect to the tariff which thus for the first time became the paramount issue of the campaign. On this platform the Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania and William H. English of Indiana.

The campaign was waged with great vigor, chiefly upon the tariff issue. The Republicans unequivocally advocated maintenance of the policy of protection to American industry, though of course with such modifications from time to time as circumstances might require, and they charged the Democratic demand for a "tariff for revenue only" with being tantamount to free trade. To this the Democrats could make no effective reply. Their candidate General Hancock, a gallant soldier but quite unversed in statecraft, aggravated the case by trying to dismiss the tariff as an issue of only local interest. The result was that despite the arbitrary suppression of the Republican vote throughout the South, the Republican ticket was handsomely elected; receiving 214 electoral and 4,454,416 popular votes, to the Democrats' 155 electoral and 4,444,952 popular votes. The Greenback party, favoring "fiat" money and abolition of national bank notes, polled 308,578 votes for James B. Weaver of Iowa and the Prohibitionists 10,305 for Neal Dow of Maine.

With a Republican President and Republican control of Congress in 1881 the work of constructive and progressive legislation was resumed. A Tariff Commission was appointed, to study scientifically the whole question of duties on imports, to divorce the question from party politics and to report a new schedule suited to the changed conditions of the country. It was obvious that the revenue needs of the war times were now past and that many of the industries which had been created and fostered by the protective system had become able to main-

PROMOTING AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

tain themselves under lower rates of duty. The Commission accordingly recommended an average reduction of duties of about 20 per cent. This report was considerably modified by Congress, but the new tariff law enacted in 1883 did provide for some reduction of rates and an increase of the free list as well as a marked reduction of internal taxation. This refusal of Congress to carry out all the recommendations of the commission was due largely to the fact that the country did not generally desire any radical change in the tariff system. There was general prosperity, and it was felt that that prosperity in manufacturing, in commerce and in agriculture was almost inseparably connected with the system of protection. Naturally there was reluctance to disturb it. President Garfield was murdered three months after the beginning of his term, and was succeeded by Mr. Arthur, who continued the tariff and other policies which had already been entered upon, and especially promoted the merit system in the civil service and the rebuilding of the American Navy.

The Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives in 1883 and in 1884 passed a "horizontal reduction" tariff bill, arbitrarily reducing duties without any pretence at scientific discrimination. This was rejected by the Republican Senate, as was also another "revenue tariff" bill in 1888, and no further changes were made until the Republicans again secured control of all departments of the government.

CHAPTER XI

TARIFF CONTROVERSIES

The administration of Garfield and Arthur, from 1881 to 1885, was marked with comparatively little party rivalry, but the important laws enacted were Republican measures, and were often passed by that party in the face of strong Democratic opposition. For example, the Civil Service Reform bill, which became law on January 16, 1883, and which fully established the merit system in the public service on its present foundation, although it bore the name of a Democratic statesman, was supported chiefly by Republicans and was opposed by practically none but Democrats. Thus in the Senate all the five votes against it were cast by Democrats, while in the House 101 Republicans, 49 Democrats and 5 Independents voted for it, and only 7 Republicans but 39 Democrats and one Independent against it. There were enacted by the Republican government, also, laws for the suppression of polygamy and for the regulation of Chinese immigration.

The presidential campaign of 1884 was participated in by the usual number of ephemeral minor parties. There were two Prohibition conventions, a Greenback convention, an Anti-Monopoly convention, and an Equal Rights or Woman Suffrage convention which nominated Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood for the Presidency. The Democratic convention nominated Grover Cleveland of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, on a platform devoted largely to denunciation of the Republican party but also to the adoption of many of its policies. On the question of the tariff it was verbosely non-committal. The Republican convention nominated James G. Blaine of Maine for President and John A. Logan of Illinois for Vice-

TARIFF CONTROVERSIES

President. Its platform was eminently explicit and progressive. It took strong ground for Federal regulation of inter-state commerce, a national bureau of labor, the eight hour law, civil service reform, restriction of Chinese immigration, forfeiture of lapsed land grants and reservation of public lands for actual settlers, maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and restoration of the American navy and commercial marine. The salient plank was, however, that relating to the tariff which denounced the Democratic "tariff for revenue only" doctrine and demanded that "in raising the requisite revenues for the government, duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity."

The campaign was marked with much animation and energy, but unfortunately on both sides with regrettable personalities. A local quarrel in the Republican party in the State of New York caused some disaffection and the result was that the Democrats carried that State by an insignificant plurality, and thus won the election, securing the Presidency for the first time since the Buchanan administration of 1857-61. The Republicans secured 182 electoral and polled 4,851,981 popular votes; the Democrats 219 electoral and 4,874,986 popular votes; the Greenback and Anti-Monopoly parties together polled 175,370 votes, and the Prohibitionists 150,369 votes.

During this Democratic administration the Senate remained Republican by a small majority while the House was strongly Democratic. There was thus no opportunity for partisan legislation. The House in 1888 passed a bill abolishing or reducing many duties but retaining high protection on sugar, rice and other articles in which Democratic states were interested; but it was rejected by the Senate. The incident served, however, to assist in making the tariff the foremost issue in the next presidential campaign in 1888. President Cleveland in 1887 devoted his annual message entirely to a plea for revision of

MATERIAL INTERESTS

the tariff in the direction of free trade and the Republican promptly responded to the challenge. In their platform in 1888 the Democrats inveighed at great length against the Republican policy and recommended the enactment of the tariff bill then pending in Congress which, as already stated, the Senate rejected. They renominated Mr. Cleveland for President with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Republican convention adopted an aggressively protectionist platform, saying: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection. We protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. . . . We favor the repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers." It also condemned all combinations of capital, organized as trusts or otherwise, for the arbitrary control of trade and recommended legislation to prevent such schemes. Upon this platform it nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for President and Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President.

Conventions were also held by the Prohibition, Union Labor, United Labor, American and Equal Rights parties and candidates were nominated by them. But all the interest of the campaign centered upon the tariff fight between the Republicans and Democrats. That question was paramount in the candidates' letters of acceptance, and in the speechmaking and the press. The result was a sweeping Republican victory. The Democrats carried the solid South, Connecticut and New Jersey with 168 electoral and 5,540,329 popular votes. The Republicans carried all the other states with 233 electoral and 5,439,853 popular votes. The Prohibitionists polled 249,506 votes, the Union Labor 146,935, the United Labor 2,418, and the American party 1,591. The Republicans retained control of the Senate and secured the House by a substantial majority. But the second House in that administration, elected in 1900, was overwhelmingly won by the Democrats.

With the accession of the Harrison administration the

TARIFF CONTROVERSIES

Republican majority in Congress, under the leadership of William McKinley, promptly proceeded to make a radical revision of the tariff and to adopt a new schedule frankly protectionist for the sake of protection. The result was the so-called McKinley tariff of 1890. This noteworthy measure placed sugar and other important articles on the free list, established a system of reciprocity in trade with various countries in South America and Europe, levied high duties on foreign goods which competed with American products, and greatly stimulated some important American industries. Widespread strikes at Homestead, Penn., and elsewhere, however, and the rise of the "Populist" party in the West drew away many voters temporarily from the Republican party so that it suffered defeat in the Congressional elections of 1890, though of course the new tariff remained in force.

In 1892 the Republicans renominated President Harrison with Whitelaw Reid of New York for Vice-President on a platform which reaffirmed the principle of protection, holding that "all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty and that upon all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home." It also approved the policy of reciprocity. It also advocated the establishment of a general system of free delivery of mails, in country as well as in city. The Democratic convention again nominated Mr. Cleveland with Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President on a platform denouncing the protective tariff as a fraud and demanding a tariff for revenue only. Conventions were held and candidates were nominated by the Populist, Prohibition and Socialist-Labor parties, and the Farmers' Alliance adopted a platform but named no candidates. Because of the conditions already mentioned as prevailing in 1890 the Democrats won a sweeping victory. The Democrats secured 277 electoral and 5,556,928 popular votes; the Republicans 145 electoral and 5,176,106 popular votes; the Populists

MATERIAL INTERESTS

22 electoral and 1,041,021 popular votes; the Prohibitionists 262,034, and the Socialist-Labor party 21,164 votes. The Democrats secured control of the Senate, also of the House by a large majority, and thus for two years had full control of the government in all branches for the first time since the years before the Civil War. But two years later, in 1894, the Republicans regained, by a still larger majority, control of the House and also won a plurality of the Senate.

Having thus complete control of the government in 1893 the Democrats set about revising the tariff and the result was described by their own President as one of "perfidy and dishonor." The Wilson-Gorman tariff, as it was known, was not at all a "tariff for revenue only" but was almost as much a protectionist measure as the one which it supplanted; only the duties were so shifted as to favor the industries of Democratic states. In addition it imposed an income tax which was declared unconstitutional. This measure was so objectionable to President Cleveland that he refused to sign it and let it become law without his approval. Its effects upon the industry and trade of the country were decidedly unfavorable and coupled with the financial panic and business depression which had set in soon after the accession of the Democrats to power, it contributed largely to the political landslide which, beginning in 1894 and culminating in 1896, returned the Republican party to complete control of the government in all its branches for many years.

Bad as the Wilson-Gorman tariff was, however, it practically marked the decline if not the close of the tariff controversy between the two parties, in what was virtually—though of course not so admitted at the time—a surrender by the Democrats to the Republican principle of a protective tariff. Thereafter the only questions were the amount of protection needed and the industries to which it should be extended. Having themselves enacted a protective tariff in 1894 the Democrats in their national platform of 1896 demanded that it should be left undisturbed, and while declaring the obvious truism that "tariff

TARIFF CONTROVERSIES

duties should be levied for purposes of revenue"—which of course nobody ever disputed—they were careful to omit the word "only" which they had hitherto inserted. Upon that platform, the salient feature of which was something other than the tariff, they nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and Arthur Sewall of Maine for Vice-President.

The Republicans in their platform strongly reaffirmed the principle of a tariff so adjusted as to afford protection to American industrial development. They condemned the existing Democratic tariff for its sectional character. Then they wisely closed the controversy by declaring that they were not pledged to any particular schedules; that the question of rates was a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of time and of production; and thus implied that the amount of protection afforded was to be determined by the need of it. They also strongly approved the policy of reciprocity as going hand in hand with protection. Upon this platform they nominated William McKinley of Ohio for President and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President.

The Populist, or People's party, nominated Mr. Bryan for President and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President. The Silver party ratified the Democratic nominations. A "National Democratic" convention, composed of Democrats who split from their party on the question of the monetary standard, nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. There were also conventions and nominations by the Prohibitionists; by the National party which had split from the Prohibitionists, and by the Socialist-Labor party. The campaign was fought with extraordinary zeal and spirit, almost exclusively on the monetary issue, and resulted in a great Republican victory. That party had 271 electoral and 7,107,304 popular votes; the Democrats had 176 electoral and 6,287,352 popular votes; the Populists polled 245,728 votes, the Prohibitionists 130,753, the National party 13,955, the Socialist-Labor party 33,545 and the National Democratic party 133,542. These figures, reported in each quadrennium,

MATERIAL INTERESTS

suggest the insignificance and futility of such party organizations. The Republicans secured a strong majority in Congress, which was repeated in the next Congress, elected in 1898.

Resuming full control of the government in 1897, the Republicans proceeded promptly to the enactment of a new protective tariff, known by the name of its chief author, Nelson Dingley. This was a considerably modified version of the former McKinley tariff, adapted to the altered conditions of the country and so judiciously devised as to give general satisfaction and to suffer no demand for revision for many years. The Democratic platform in 1900 denounced it in general terms and called for an enlargement of the free list as a means of combatting trusts, but abandoned the old cry of "tariff for revenue only" and obviously treated the issue as of only minor importance. On this platform they renominated Mr. Bryan, with Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President.

The Republicans in 1900 reaffirmed the policies of protection and reciprocity, but treated them as accomplished facts no longer open to political controversy and no longer leading issues of the campaign. They renominated President McKinley, with Theodore Roosevelt of New York for Vice-President. The People's party ratified the Democratic nominations. Tickets were also put forward by the "Middle-of-the-Road" People's party, the Silver Republicans, the Prohibitionists, the Socialist-Labor party, the Social Democratic Party of the United States, the Social Democratic Party of America, the Union Reform party and the United Christian party. The Republicans won with 292 electoral and 7,207,386 popular votes; the Democrats got 155 electoral and 6,358,076 popular votes; the Prohibitionists got 207,174 votes; the Social Democrats 94,173; the "Middle-of-the-Road" party 49,787; the Socialist-Labor 33,319; the Union Reform, 5,968; and the United Christian 1,059 votes. The votes of the People's party and the Silver Republicans are included in the Democratic total.

In almost the last words uttered by him before his assassination President McKinley indicated the progressive and enlight-

TARIFF CONTROVERSIES

ened future policy of the Republican party in respect to the tariff. Protection was to be maintained. Reciprocity was to be encouraged and extended. "The period of exclusiveness is past," he said. "The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?" That statesmanlike utterance embodied and expressed the logical culmination of the principles and policies of the Republican party for the preceding forty years; and the future policy from which neither party would venture to depart. There was no further revision of the tariff until 1909, when the Payne-Aldrich bill was enacted by a Republican government; practically a mere readjustment of the Dingley law to meet changed industrial and commercial conditions.

An attempt was made in 1912 to inject the tariff controversy into politics, when the Democrats in their platform again demanded a tariff for revenue only, on the ground that a protective tariff was unconstitutional—an absurd contention, the constitutionality of a protective tariff being all but universally conceded. But when they gained control of the government in that election, and President Wilson called Congress together in special session in April, 1913, for the purpose of enacting a "revenue tariff," the resulting measure proved to be a hybrid somewhat resembling the former Democratic tariff of 1894. It certainly was not a "revenue tariff," because it did not produce the needed revenue and it failed to tax various articles which might have yielded a large revenue; while on the other hand it retained some decidedly protective features. The average rate of duties imposed was about 28 per cent.

Finally, in their platform of 1916 the Democrats practically conceded the Republican principle by confessing that "tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade." The Republican platform of the same year once more affirmed the principle of

MATERIAL INTERESTS

a protective tariff, adjusted to circumstances and calculated at once to give reasonable protection to American labor and to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. Both parties favored the Republican policy of a tariff commission to secure information and suggest to Congress a tariff schedule based on scientific principles. With these utterances the triumph of the Republican theory of tariff legislation may be regarded as complete, and the situation was left practically unchanged by the party platforms of 1920, though the Democrats recorded a formal demand for a "tariff for revenue."

CHAPTER XII

SOUND MONEY

Mention has already been made of the successful resistance of the Republican party to the various schemes for repudiating the fiscal good faith of the nation by paying the public debt in irredeemable greenbacks and by flooding the country with "fiat money" created by the printing press. Its final fight on those lines was against an equally pernicious scheme for flooding the country with depreciated silver. In 1873, as related, Congress dropped the standard silver dollar from the list of coins thereafter to be minted, and the next year limited to five dollars the legal tender power of silver coins of any denomination. At that time silver dollars had not been in circulation for more than thirty years. The legal ratio of value between silver and gold had been 16 to 1, and in 1873 the commercial ratio was 15.92 to 1, so that there was no inducement to silver owners to seek to have it coined. But then Germany demonetized silver and the commercial value of that metal began to fall until in 1876 the ratio was 17.87 to 1, and in 1880 it was 18.04 to 1.

When President Grant wisely checked greenback inflation with a veto in 1875, the inflationists began to consider increased silver circulation as a means to their end. New mines in Colorado and elsewhere had enormously increased the output of that metal and the mine owners were eager to realize for it the old coinage value. The Democrats took the lead, followed by some Republicans, in seeking remonetization of the silver dollar and in 1877 Congress passed a bill introduced by Senator Bland, a Democrat, providing for the free coinage of \$4,000,000 in silver every month. President Hayes vetoed it but the

MATERIAL INTERESTS

bill was repassed over his veto. Thus the government, under that Democratic policy, every month bought silver at more than its commercial value and coined it into dollars which nobody wanted to handle and which remained stored in the treasury vaults while paper certificates representing them were put into circulation.

This unsound system continued, with the commercial value of silver steadily falling, until 1890 when the Sherman bill was enacted providing for the continued purchase of a limited amount of silver bullion against which there should be issued treasury notes payable "in coin," which might be either gold or silver. Following this an attempt was made to pass a bill providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver which passed the Senate but was rejected by the House. Now, although the treasury notes might be paid in silver, the President rightly held that good faith required their payment in gold if that metal was demanded. In consequence the gold reserve in the treasury became nearly exhausted, a financial panic occurred, and in August, 1893, Grover Cleveland called Congress in special session to repeal the Sherman law and stop the purchase of silver and the issuance of "coin" notes. Such repeal was effected after a struggle of months in which the Republicans generally supported and the Democrats generally opposed the President, though both parties were divided on the subject.

This controversy made the silver question paramount in the campaign of 1896. The Republican platform of that year declared unreservedly for the maintenance of the gold standard and opposition to the free coinage of silver unless under some international agreement with the principal nations of the world which would assure the maintenance of silver at its money value—an agreement which everybody knew it would be impossible to secure. Until that impossible achievement, that is perpetually, "the existing gold standard must be maintained." At this a faction of the party, chiefly in the western and silver producing states, seceded and joined the Democrats. The

SOUND MONEY

Democratic platform demanded the "free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1" and that such silver dollars should be "full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private." At that a faction of the party seceded and nominated an independent ticket, while many other Democrats openly supported the Republican ticket.

It was recognized throughout the nation that the Democratic free silver proposal meant the flooding of the country with silver "dollars" worth little more than half a dollar each with consequent enormous losses to millions of persons. Every savings bank depositor would find his savings practically cut in half. Every life insurance policy would be paid at a discount of fifty per cent. At such a prospect of repudiation and disaster the nation revolted and the Democratic ticket was overwhelmingly defeated. The Republican party saved the nation from financial dishonor and ruin just as truly as it had saved it from secession and dissolution a generation before.

Following this the Republican government in March, 1900, passed the Gold Standard act, which made gold the sole monetary standard and stopped the coinage of silver dollars. That practically ended the silver controversy and won the fight for sound money. In 1900, it is true, the Democrats perfunctorily repeated the demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1, while the Republicans unequivocally denounced such proposals and reaffirmed their allegiance to the gold standard; but that campaign was fought on other issues. Finally in 1904 the Democratic platform was silent upon the subject, while the Democratic candidate in accepting the nomination for the Presidency explicitly declared his acceptance of and adherence to the Republican principle of a gold standard for the money of the Nation.

NATIONAL EXPANSION

CHAPTER XIII

NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

The Republican party has been prolific of additions to the Union and to the national domain. It came into existence in the midst of a struggle—and largely because of that struggle—over the creation of new western states, and through its far-seeing policies of granting homesteads to settlers, encouraging migration and immigration and providing transcontinental railroads to make the remotest regions accessible it promoted the development of wilderness territories into populous and prosperous commonwealths. Several of the western states, thus fostered by Republican statesmanship, were actually received into the Union under Democratic administrations, but their fitness for such reception was to be credited to the Republican party; while all the states but one taken into the Union since the Civil War were brought in by Republican Presidents and Congresses.

Minnesota in 1858, Oregon in 1859 and Kansas in 1861 entered the Federal Union under a Democratic administration, though the Republican party was even then a powerful influence in effecting those results. Nevada in 1864, Nebraska in 1867 and Colorado in 1876 were Republican creations. The four States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington date from November, 1889, when a Republican President and Congress were in office. The same is true of Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. Utah in 1896 came in under Democratic rule. Oklahoma in 1907 and New Mexico and Arizona in 1912, completing the Union, were Republican admissions.

NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

The outlying territories belonging to the United States are also with a single exception Republican acquisitions. We have already seen how the great and rich territory of Alaska was secured. The next addition to our territorial possessions was Hawaii, a group of mid-Pacific islands of almost incalculable richness and value. These were annexed without cost in 1898 by a Republican President and Congress against the bitter and persistent opposition of the Democrats. The next year, as a result of our little war with Spain for the liberation and independence of Cuba, we acquired Porto Rico, the vast and priceless archipelago of the Philippines, and the small but useful mid-sea islet of Guam. These were secured by a Republican administration against Democratic opposition so bitter that it made the matter the leading issue of the 1900 Presidential campaign; in which the Republican policy of "expansion" was overwhelmingly approved by the nation. The acquisition of Tutuila in the Samoan group in 1900 and of the Panama Canal Zone under a perpetual lease in 1904 were also purely Republican achievements. The purchase of the Virgin Islands, or Danish West Indies, in 1917 was indeed effected by a Democratic government, though the policy of making that purchase was originally adopted, against Democratic opposition, by the Republicans.

In addition to such territorial expansion, an enormous extension of American political influence and commercial interests in all parts of the world was effected under Republican direction. It was under Republican administrations that the United States participated prominently and influentially in both of the international Peace Congresses at The Hague. It was a Republican Secretary of State, John Hay, under a Republican President, who enunciated the great principle of the "open door" in China and secured the acquiescence of all other nations therein. It was under a Republican government that the United States participated in the international expedition into China to rescue the beleaguered legations and to save that ancient empire from anarchy. It was a Republican President

NATIONAL EXPANSION

who successfully offered mediation between Japan and Russia for the termination of their war, and thus won the gratitude of both those countries and secured for the United States a commanding prestige in the far East.

In the Western Hemisphere, too, Republican policies have been inestimably advantageous in international affairs. The Pan-American movement which led to the formation of the Pan-American Union, or Bureau of American Republics, and which has been of the greatest possible service in promoting cordial and profitable relations between this country and the other American Republics, was conceived, founded and developed to its present great usefulness by Republican statesmen. It was a Republican President, Mr. Hayes, who first enunciated the policy of making whatever canal should ever be constructed across the American Isthmus an American canal under American control; and it was another Republican President, more than a score of years later, who successfully executed that policy by acquiring the unfinished Panama Canal and vigorously pushing it to completion. It was also a Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, who, when the German Kaiser had fitted out a formidable naval and military expedition for the invasion and conquest of Venezuela, calmly but resolutely informed him that the German expedition on its arrival in American water would be met by the American battle fleet ready for action; at which announcement the sailing of the German expedition was promptly countermanded. It was under a Republican government that the dispute between this country and Great Britain over the Alaska boundary was settled through arbitration and the title of the United States to all that it had claimed was finally confirmed.

It was, indeed, because of Republican policies and under Republican government that the United States began to be spoken of as a "world power." The phrase was something of a misnomer, no doubt, for the United States had in theory and to a degree in fact been a world power since its foundation. But it was Republican statesmanship that so made the legiti-

NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

mate influence of this nation felt throughout the world as to cause a general use of that designation and to emphasize its appropriateness.

The policy of the Republican party has, indeed, been notably that which was wisely established at the beginning of our national life by Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson and their compeers. It has been to develop to the full our own continental Republic and to cultivate its territorial possessions; to vindicate the independence of American states against any European attempts at re-subjugation; to participate freely in the commerce of the world and in whatever international intercourse is calculated to advance the humane welfare of mankind; to lend the weight of our example and participation to the practice of arbitration and international adjudication, and to the supremacy of law and justice and peace among the nations; but to withhold this nation scrupulously from all wanton meddling with the affairs of other nations and from all "entangling alliances" which might compromise our own independence or impair our impartial standing.

CHAPTER XIV

"BIG BUSINESS"

As the nation grows, business grows. A hundred years ago the supplanting of cottage workshops with large manufactories revolutionized the industrial world. In our own day a similar revolution has been wrought in the mercantile world by the replacing of a multitude of small individual establishments with a few very large ones, and the replacing of shops devoted to a single class or a few classes of goods with vast emporiums dealing in all classes. Similar combinations have been made in manufacturing enterprises and in public utilities. During the Civil War a dozen or a score of separate telegraph systems, each confined to a constricted region, were merged into a single system covering the whole country. Likewise a number of independent railroads have now and then been united into a single system or a continuous trunk line.

In such combinations there is obviously great advantage, or at least the "promise and potency" of great advantage to all concerned. There is also, however, the possibility of abuse and therefore of evil, and this possibility was more than once realized. Great business combinations, or trusts as they came to be called, unjustly and unwisely used their power to prevent competition and to compel retail establishments to purchase supplies from them alone. About 1890 such practices became so marked and so offensive as to cause a widespread demand for their abatement and prevention. The result was the enactment in that year by the Republican Congress and President of the so-called Sherman Anti-Trust act forbidding the making of contracts in restraint of trade or commerce.

This beneficent act was at first held, notably by a Supreme

"BIG BUSINESS"

Court decision in 1895, not to apply to manufacturing concerns but only to interstate commerce, and its utility was not as great as had been anticipated. But during the administration of President Roosevelt, in 1902, an attempt was made to have the act more liberally construed, so as to apply its prohibition to the "holding company" principle. The government selected as the object of its attack the Northern Securities Company, a trust incorporated in New Jersey for the purpose of purchasing and holding the stocks of two competing railroad systems in the northwest, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific. It would not have been permissible for one of these roads to purchase and control the other, so it was sought to reach the same end by having a third corporation purchase them both. The government prosecuted the case with much vigor and won a sweeping victory which not only nullified the Northern Securities Company but also established a precedent for numerous other like applications of the law.

The question of the governmental control of trusts and regulation of "big business" became a prominent issue in the Presidential campaign of 1904. The Democratic platform attempted to convict the Republican party of complicity with trusts and monopolies, and demanded that laws be made and enforced to prevent such combinations of capital from interfering with freedom of trade. The Republican platform, however, was able to point to the fact that a Republican government had enacted an effective law for that very purpose, that the Democratic administration had failed to enforce it efficiently and that the Republican administration had secured its very effective application. The Republican convention nominated for President Theodore Roosevelt, who was then serving out the unfinished term of President McKinley, and for Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker of New York and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia for President and Vice-President, respectively. Tickets were placed in the field also by the People's or Populist party, the Prohibitionists, the Socialists and the So-

NATIONAL EXPANSION

cialist-Labor party. The campaign resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory, the party getting 336 electoral and 7,620,337 popular votes; the Democrats 140 electoral and 5,079,041 popular votes; and the Socialists 402,159, the Prohibitionists 258,550, the Populists 113,259 and the Socialist-Labor party 33,622 popular votes.

With this unmistakable vote of confidence from the nation, the Republican administration, backed by strong majorities in both Houses of Congress, proceeded with the prosecution of various large corporations which were charged with violation of the Sherman act. Among these were the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the du Pont de Nemours Powder Company of New Jersey, the American Sugar Refining Company of New Jersey, and the American Tobacco Company of New Jersey. The purpose was, of course, not to destroy those corporations nor to deprive the business of the nation of the advantages which manifestly might be realized from the conduct of affairs upon so extensive a scale, but to curb and check the abuses to which they were subject and to demonstrate the amenability of the largest and richest corporation to the law equally with the humblest and poorest individual. It was an application of the original principles of the Republican party, the equality of rights and equality of responsibilities before the law. It served notice that just as the slave-holding oligarchy of the South was not permitted to dominate the country, so no oligarchy of capital would be permitted to exercise undue influence to control the government or to defy the law.

The principles successfully pursued during this administration thus comprised the "square deal" of equal industrial opportunities for all law-abiding men and corporations, and equal punishment for all violations of law; such governmental supervision and regulation of railroads and other public service corporations as would assure their impartial and efficient service to all; development of the internal waterways of the country to supplement the service of the railroads; promotion of agri-

"BIG BUSINESS"

culture by facilitating and encouraging the acquisition of homesteads; conservation of the forests and other natural resources; conservation and utilization of waterpower for industrial purposes, under governmental authority and control; and the building of a navy adequate to the defence of our coasts, an undertaking much facilitated by the connecting of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts by means of the Panama Canal. These were the things for which the Republican party stood during the Roosevelt administration and these were the things which it achieved so far as it was possible to be done.

With this record, the party was well warranted in declaring in its platform in 1908 that the Roosevelt administration was an epoch in history. "In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln," it continued, "has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair-dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice." In addition to the achievements of the administration, it was possible to point to an impressive array of beneficent Republican legislation by Congress, including an emergency currency bill, provision for a national monetary commission, employers' and government liability laws, measures for the greater efficiency of the army and navy, a widows' pension law, an anti-child labor law, and laws for the greater safety of railroad engineers and firemen. It promised revision of the tariff to suit altered conditions and a general continuance of the enlightened and progressive policies of the Roosevelt administration. Upon this platform the party nominated William H. Taft of Ohio for President and James S. Sherman of New York for Vice-President.

The Democratic platform carped and railed against the Republican party, but in nearly all of its constructive planks was compelled substantially to imitate and adopt the policies which the Republican administration was engaged in pursuing and which the Republican Congress had enacted or was pledged to enact. The party nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska

NATIONAL EXPANSION

for President and John W. Kern of Indiana for Vice-President. There were nominations also by the Populist, Prohibition, Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Independence parties. The Republicans won the election with 321 electoral and 7,677,544 popular votes. The Democrats had 162 electoral and 6,405,707 popular votes, the Socialists 420,464, the Prohibitionists 251,660, the Independence party 83,628, the Populist 29,108 and the Social Labor party 14,021 popular votes.

From the establishment of a sound monetary standard, Republican statesmen, in the face of Democratic opposition, went on toward the great improvement of the currency and banking system. The Republican Congress in 1908 enacted the Aldrich-Vreeland Currency bill, to meet a temporary emergency; a measure the effects of which were little less than the financial salvation of the country six years later, at the outbreak of the great war. It also provided for a Monetary Commission, under the lead of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, to report a general and permanent plan of reform. The report of this commission reached Congress after the Democrats had secured control of the House, and was accordingly not directly acted upon. But it served as the source and origin and provided the spirit and substance and much of the actual language of the Federal Reserve Banking Act which was enacted by the Democratic Government in 1914, and for which the Democrats have vainly and falsely attempted to claim the credit.

CHAPTER XV

PARTY READJUSTMENT

President Taft soon after his inauguration called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff, as the platform had promised. The result was the Payne-Aldrich tariff which Mr. Taft approved and which undoubtedly had many admirable qualities, but which failed to meet the expectations of some members of the party, especially in the West, who complained that it was largely a revision upward rather than downward and that it favored too greatly "the interests," meaning great trusts and corporations. So considerable was the dissatisfaction with it that in 1910 the Republican party suffered defeat at the polls and lost control of the next Congress which met in 1911. In the fall of 1910 Mr. Taft urged further tariff reform in the shape of a reciprocity treaty with Canada. Although that would have been in accord with established Republican policy Congress failed to enact it. Thereupon Mr. Taft called a special session of the new Congress immediately upon the expiration of the old and renewed the proposal. It was readily passed by the House, the Democratic majority accepting the Republican doctrine; and it was also passed by the Senate, though by the aid of Democratic votes; the dissentient or "insurgent" Republicans opposing it because they thought it would be unfavorable to the agricultural interests of the West.

This reciprocity measure did not go into effect, because of the retirement from power of the Liberal party in Canada which had favored it. But its adoption by Congress was accepted as proof that the Republican party was getting ready to make a radical readjustment of the tariff, though unfortu-

NATIONAL EXPANSION

nately it revealed the presence of serious dissension within that party; the culmination of a certain disagreement between its progressive and conservative wings, which had existed for a number of years. The efforts of Mr. Taft to mediate between the two were unavailing and when the time came to nominate his successor a disastrous schism occurred. The conservative wing of the party renominated Mr. Taft and Mr. Sherman on a platform reaffirming the established principles of the party and the progressive wing organized itself into the Progressive party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President and Hiram W. Johnson of California for Vice-President on a platform which in many details was substantially identical with the Republican, but which greatly emphasized the need of a more radical prosecution of the reforms which had been begun under the Roosevelt administration. It contained an unequivocal declaration in favor of "equal suffrage to men and women alike."

The Democrats, in a convention dominated by Mr. Bryan, nominated Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana on a platform calling for a "tariff for revenue only," an income tax, and abandonment of the Philippines. Socialist, Prohibitionist and Socialist-Labor nominations were also made. A vigorous campaign was waged and the Republicans polled a large majority of the votes of the nation. Yet, owing to the division in their ranks, they were badly defeated and the Democratic ticket was elected. Mr. Wilson received 435 electoral votes, Mr. Roosevelt 88, and Mr. Taft only 8. Yet Mr. Wilson received only 6,292,670 popular votes, while Mr. Roosevelt got 4,169,482 and Mr. Taft 3,441,568; so that had the two wings of the Republican party remained united that party would have had 7,611,050 votes, or 1,318,380 more than the Democrats, and it would have had 379 electoral votes to the Democrats' 152. In this election the Socialists polled 898,538, the Prohibitionists 207,959 and the Socialist-Labor party 29,083 votes. The Democrats also gained control of Congress.

PARTY READJUSTMENT

After the middle of the Taft administration, therefore, the Republican party had for a number of years no control of legislation, and after the close of that administration they also lost control of the executive for eight years. In 1916 the party was reunited on a basis of sanely progressive principles. Its platform spoke clearly for protection of American rights in all parts of the world, for maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, for a reasonable degree of military preparedness for the protection of the country, for a Tariff Commission which should place the tariff system of the country upon a scientific and non-political basis, for such regulation of business as should prevent abuses without crippling enterprise or impairing property rights, for exclusive Federal control of the railway transportation system, for restoration of the merchant marine, for the establishment of a budget system for the national treasury in the interest of economy and businesslike methods in government, for the careful husbandry of natural resources, for vocational education, laws against child labor, workmen's compensation and accident compensation laws, rural credits, extension of the rural free delivery mail service, full protection of naturalized citizens in the right of expatriation and the extension of the electoral franchise to women equally with men.

There was less difference than usual between the two platforms. The Republican stood for the protective principle in the tariff, while the Democratic repeated the demand for a tariff for revenue only; though the tariff which a Democratic Congress had enacted at the dictation of the Democratic President was very far from answering that description. The Republican insisted upon keeping the faith of the nation which had been pledged in the Treaty of Paris concerning the Philippines, while the Democratic advocated a policy of repudiation, scuttling and abandonment. The Republican platform proposed specific constructive legislation and executive action for the "rigid supervision and strict regulation of the great corporations of the country" in the interest of the encouragement

NATIONAL EXPANSION

of legitimate business, while the Democratic made no proposals on the subject save that for a general trade commission. The Republican, perceiving intrastate and interstate commerce to be inseparably interwoven, proposed that all railroad legislation should be committed to the national government, so as to avoid the mischievous confusion which had often arisen between federal and state control; while the Democratic was silent upon this immensely important subject. The Republican favored legislation which would promote the building of an adequate American merchant marine, while the Democratic favored the socialist plan of a marine owned and operated by the government.

The campaign of 1916 was conducted while the attention of the nation was supremely fixed upon the great war in Europe and while the issues of that war seemed paramount to those of our domestic affairs. The Democratic party pleaded for the re-election of the President on the specious and altogether insincere ground that he had "kept us out of war" and by that means gained some votes. The pro-German vote was chiefly cast for him also because of his tolerant attitude toward Germany in the war. In a few of the states there were still some lingering traces of the Republican schism of four years before. The Republican candidates were Charles Evans Hughes of New York and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana; the Democratic, President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall. There was an attempt to put Theodore Roosevelt forward again as a Progressive candidate but he declined it and supported Mr. Hughes on the regular Republican ticket. The drift of popular sentiment was undoubtedly toward the Republican party. But owing to the circumstances mentioned, the Democrats won by the narrowest margin since the disputed election of 1876, forty years before. They got 277 electoral and 9,129,269 popular votes, while the Republicans got 254 electoral and 8,547,328 popular votes. The Socialist vote was 590,579, the Prohibitionist 221,329 and the Socialist-Labor 14,180. The Democrats retained control of Congress.

PARTY READJUSTMENT

Thereafter, for the first half of the second Wilson administration, covering the period of American participation in the great war, Democratic control of the government was complete and under it the President was invested with an autocratic and dictatorial power never before approximated or contemplated in American history. Shortly after his installation in the second term, to which he had been elected chiefly on the pretence that "he kept us out of war," the President was compelled by the logic of events to ask that the nation be plunged into the war. To that momentous step and all through the succeeding transactions for the prosecution of the war the Republican minority offered no factious opposition. With patriotic zeal it co-operated heartily with the Democratic government in every measure that was necessary to win the victory. In some important respects, particularly the legislation for creating and preparing a great army, the Republicans gave the President more hearty support than did the members of his own party.

Nevertheless, as the war drew near its close and as the time approached for the election of a new Congress which would be in office during the period of peace-making and reconstruction, President Wilson repudiated the loyal support which the Republicans had given him and in October, 1918, took the unprecedented step of issuing a public appeal to the nation to elect a Democratic Congress which would be subservient to his will. It is possible, though not probable, that without that astounding performance he might have secured a Democratic Congress. But the last hope of his doing so was destroyed by the issuance of that appeal which in spirit was in fact an imperious demand. The nation revolted against such a display of despotic partisanship, refused the Democratic government the vote of confidence which the President had solicited and elected a Congress Republican in both Houses.

This body was kept from meeting as long as possible and then was greatly hampered and delayed in its work by the petulant and arrogant unwillingness of the President to co-operate with it, and by his insistence upon the Senate's rati-

NATIONAL EXPANSION

fication of his secretly-negotiated Treaty of Peace and Covenant of the League of Nations without any of the amendments or reservations which the Senate was constitutionally entitled to make, and which were necessary for the protection of American interests and for making the treaty accord with the Constitution and fixed policies of the United States. The desire of the Republican leaders to ratify the treaty with proper reservations, acceptable to the other signatory powers, was finally thwarted by the President who instructed his subservient followers in the Senate to kill the treaty rather than have it ratified with the reservations required by the Constitution and by the overwhelming sentiment of the American people.

The chief legislation before Congress in 1919 and 1920 had to do with settling the issues of the war, with readjusting the finances of the country, and with restoring to a normal peace basis the enterprises which had been disturbed by the war. Foremost among these tasks was the enactment of a bill for the government supervision and regulation of the railroads after their return by the government to private control. The period of government war control, under the Democratic administration, had caused a deficit of more than half a billion dollars in the railroad account and had greatly disorganized the roads and enormously increased their expenses. These circumstances made the framing of a satisfactory law a difficult matter, but in the task the Republican majority in Congress succeeded in a manner which won almost universal approbation. In this and other post-bellum legislation the Republican party showed itself thoroughly reunited and steadfastly intent upon pursuing those progressive policies of service to the public welfare, and at the same time those resolute conservations of the rights of the individual citizen, of property and of business, which had been characteristic of it from its foundation. In the pursuance of such policies it knew and it knows no sectional divisions, no class distinctions, no discrimination of race or sex in the vindication of civil rights. North, South, East, West; black and white; rich and poor; employer and employee; man and wo-

PARTY READJUSTMENT

man, native and naturalized—all are the same to the party which in the fulfilment of its name is devoted to the progress and prosperity of the Common Wealth.

At the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1920 the League of Nations was generally regarded, by both parties, as the paramount issue. The President had demanded a "great and solemn referendum" thereon, and the Republican leaders gladly accepted his challenge. The Republican National Convention was held at Chicago early in June and with fine unity of spirit nominated for President Warren G. Harding, a United States Senator from Ohio, who had distinguished himself in the Senate by his independent and constructive spirit, and by his resolute insistence that the Treaty of Peace and Covenant of the League of Nations should be ratified only with effective reservations for protecting the independence and integrity of the United States and for maintaining the Constitution and established policy of this country. As he himself said, "We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this Republic to world civilization. We were not seeking to defeat a world aspiration; we were seeking to safeguard America." For Vice-President was nominated Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, who had distinguished himself in a great civic crisis by his resolute stand for the supremacy of law and order, of justice and of loyalty to American institutions. The platform, beside speaking clearly for "agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world . . . based upon international justice . . . without the compromise of national independence," took finely progressive ground for the betterment of industrial relations, recognizing the justice of collective bargaining; for taxation reform and a national budget system; for the improvement of roads and the development of inland waterways; for the promotion of education and health, prevention of the evils of child labor, and safeguarding the welfare of women in industry; and for dealing with all the pressing public issues of the time in a spirit of progressive and constructive statesmanship.

NATIONAL EXPANSION

The Democratic National Convention was held at San Francisco early in July, and after a prolonged and at times acrimonious contest it nominated for the Presidency James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio, and for the Vice-Presidency Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. The platform committed the party and its candidates to the President's scheme of a League of Nations without any effective reservations for safeguarding American national independence or for making the Covenant conformable to the principles of the Constitution and the Monroe Doctrine. It also declared for a "tariff for revenue only." On most other topics of importance it followed pretty closely after the Republican platform. Its outstanding feature was its unqualified endorsement of President Wilson's policy concerning the League of Nations, upon which Mr. Cox and the President a few days later declared themselves to be in absolute agreement.

The issue was thus joined between the two parties with singular clearness and precision. It was the question whether America should participate in international affairs and in the preservation of the peace of the world as a free and independent nation, as described by the Declaration of Independence, or as a fettered member of a semi-military alliance, subject to the dictation of alien powers. On that the Republican party and its candidates stood unswervingly for the side of the American commonwealth.

CHAPTER XVI

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Latest of all the great advancements made in the civic life of America and greatest of all the late reforms achieved under the influence and leadership of the Republican party, is the enfranchisement of women. It was eminently appropriate that this work should be done chiefly by Republicans because it was in logical accord with the fundamental principles of that party. An organization which came into existence for the vindication of the rights of man was unmistakably destined to become the champion of equal rights of citizenship for men and women. Between the Republican party and the early movement for woman suffrage there was indeed an intimate personal connection. We cannot say that all Republicans were suffragists or that all suffragists were Republicans. But it is a fact of record that many of the founders of the Republican party were advocates of woman suffrage, and that the great majority of suffragists were affiliated with the Republican party.

Some citations from the national platforms of the Republican party with reference to the rights of women have already been made. It will be profitable to review the record in detail. As early as 1872 the Republican national convention, which nominated Grant and Wilson for the presidency and vice-presidency, declared:

"The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

That was a tentative and conservative utterance. But it was

NATIONAL EXPANSION

the first utterance on the subject that was made by any considerable political party. Again in 1876 the Republican platform, upon which Hayes and Wheeler were nominated, declared:

The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures, in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers and widows and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration."

Again, in 1896, when McKinley and Hobart were nominated, the Republican platform said:

"The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness and welcome their co-operation."

Naturally, when McKinley was renominated in 1900 the Republican platform again recognized the public services of women and expressed appreciation of their co-operation.

Then in 1912 came the climax. We have already told of the great Progressive movement of that year, when more than half of the Republican party temporarily separated itself from the general organization in order the more to emphasize the demand for attainment of the advanced aims to which the party was committed. The Progressive Republicans in their platform unequivocally declared for the complete enfranchisement of women. They said:

"The Progressive party believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike."

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

With the reunion four years later of the Progressives with the Regular Republican party, that unequivocally expressed principle of the former was fully and heartily adopted by the latter, so that the Republican national convention of 1916 declared in its platform:

"The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each state to settle this question for itself."

Meanwhile, what of the Democratic party? While the Republicans at intervals during nearly half a century were making these half dozen explicit declarations in favor of the rights of women, what did the Democrats say? Not one word. The subject of the civil and electoral rights of women was never so much as referred to in a Democratic platform until 1916 when, under sheer compulsion and most reluctantly, there was inserted this dodging and begrudging plank:

"We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men."

That was all; a single utterance of fewer than two dozen words, without a hint at belief in the matter or of appreciation of the civic and patriotic worth of womanhood—that constituted the entire record of the Democratic party on the subject of woman suffrage.

The declaration of the Republican platform of 1916 was, it is true, in favor of suffrage for women by state rather than by national action. But when a little later the issue was brought before Congress in the form of a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would make equal suffrage a national and not merely a state right, Republicans readily accepted and supported it and it was by Republican votes that the amendment was adopted by both Houses of Congress and recommended to the states for ratification.

NATIONAL EXPANSION

This was not, it is true, the first presentation of the equal suffrage cause to Congress. As early as 1878 it was thus presented by no less authoritative a person than Miss Susan B. Anthony. The House of Representatives had at that time, however, a Democratic majority and Miss Anthony's earnest appeal fell upon unsympathetic ears. There was a similar result when the amendment was introduced into the Sixty-fifth Congress. That body was Democratic in both Houses, and by Democratic votes it rejected the amendment. Happily for the cause of suffrage, however, in the fall of 1918 President Wilson made his extraordinary appeal to the country for the election of another Democratic Congress, to which the nation promptly responded by electing one Republican in both Houses.

To that Republican Sixty-sixth Congress, then, the amendment was resubmitted, to be speedily approved. Congress met in special session on May 19, 1919. Just two days later, on May 21, the House of Representatives, with a strong Republican majority, overwhelmingly adopted the amendment. The vote stood as follows:

Republicans—For, 200; against, 19.

Democrats—For, 102; against, 70.

A little later, on June 4, the Senate voted as follows:

Republicans—For, 36; against, 8.

Democrats—For, 20; against, 17.

Thus in the whole Congress, 236 Republicans voted for equal suffrage and only 27 against it; while only 122 Democrats voted for it and no fewer than 87 against it. It was emphatically and indisputably the work of the Republican party, therefore, that the so-called Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States was adopted by Congress for submission and recommendation to the states for ratification.

No less is it the work of the Republican party that ratification by the states has been secured. The first eight states that ratified it were the staunch Republican states of Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Massachusetts, every one of which had, of course, a Republican legislature. Of the thirty-six states which ratified it and made it a part of the Constitution, giving the franchise to nearly 27,000,000 women, no fewer than twenty-six had legislatures Republican in both branches, and only seven had legislatures Democratic in both branches, while of the other three one house was Republican and the other Democratic. On the other hand, of the eight states which outrightly rejected the amendment, seven were Democratic and only one was Republican. Of the four states which have not yet acted, two are Republican and two Democratic.

The final contest was in the Tennessee legislature, on August 13 and 18, 1920. That body was overwhelmingly Democratic, yet its favorable action was chiefly the work of the Republican minority, done in accord with the declaration of the Republican National platform and with the expressed wishes of the Republican candidates and party leaders. In the Tennessee Senate on August 13, eighteen Democrats voted for and three against ratification, and seven Republicans voted for and only one against it. But in the House on August 18 the Democrats were about evenly divided, 35 voting for and 34 against ratification, with one absent; while the Republicans voted 15 for and 12 against, with two absent. Thus the Republican minority was decidedly more favorable to ratification than was the Democratic majority.

Thus the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified by the states by the following vote:

Republicans—For, 26; against, 1.

Democrats—For, 7; against, 7.

Divided legislatures—For, 3.

Beyond all question or challenge, therefore, the granting of Equal Suffrage, both in congressional initiative and in ratification by the states, has been the work of the Republican party, successfully effected in the face of Democratic opposition.

REVIEW AND PROSPECT

It would require a far more voluminous work than the present to give even a brief synopsis of the multitudinous acts of legislation and administration which the Republican party has performed for the good of the people through the national government, beside other volumes to tell of its achievements in and through the various state and local governments. The present work has been confined entirely to national affairs and has perforce mentioned, even briefly, only a few of those great principles, policies and specific acts which have indicated the general purpose of the party and have been the landmarks and mileposts of its progress.

We might have dwelt upon the reduction of postage rates, the establishment of the money order system, the development of the railway mail service and the free delivery system, which have made our postal service the best in the world; the artificial propagation and distribution of food fish; the free distribution of seeds and other measures for the promotion of agriculture; the international copyright law which has removed from the publishing trade the imputation of piracy, and which protects at once the property rights of authors and the business interests of American publishers; the national bankruptcy acts, which relieved thousands of unfortunate men of their burdens and enabled them to regain business prosperity; the Circuit Court of Appeals which has greatly expedited and facilitated legal processes; the pure food law and inspection system and the meat inspection system for safeguarding the health of the people; the freeing from tax of denatured alcohol for use in the arts; and the national quarantine system against contagious diseases.

It was the Republican party that empowered the Interstate

REVIEW AND PROSPECT

Commerce Commission to fix railway rates, that penalized rebates and other discriminations, that prohibited the abuse of railway passes, that made sleeping cars, express companies and pipe lines common carriers, required to serve all patrons impartially; that built the Panama Canal; that reorganized the consular service on the merit basis; that created a permanent Census Bureau; that brought the telephone and telegraph systems under government control under the Interstate Commerce act; that created the Postal Savings Bank system; that incorporated the Red Cross; that conserved coal lands by reserving to the government title to the deposits, while agricultural entries of the surface lands were permitted; that established the national forestry system; that provided for publicity of campaign contributions; and that promoted the irrigation or arid land areas.

Other Republican measures for the general good were the reorganization of the lighthouse service; the creation of a bureau of mines to lessen the dangers of operatives in that industry; the extended application of safety devices on railroads; the imposition of heavy penalties for the interstate white slave traffic; strong regulations for the prevention of accidents at sea; the parole of Federal prisoners whose conduct after conviction warrants clemency; the conservation of waterpower sites; the creation of a Commission of Fine Arts; the creation of national parks. The record of Republican achievements is the record of the nation's progress.

Mention has been made of various minor parties which have disported themselves in every presidential campaign. There have been many more, the very names of some of which are forgotten. They have run their little courses and passed away, like the "Quids" and "Hunkers" and "Barn Burners" and "Silver Grays" and others which represented divisions in the major parties rather than separate organizations. The chief record which they have made has been one of vain futility. Free soil was secured and vindicated, but not by the ephemeral Free Soil party. Slavery was abolished, but it was not the

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Abolition party that did the great work. The Union and the Constitution were preserved, but not through the efforts of the Constitutional Union party. After the stormy passions of the war had passed, liberal principles of reconstruction prevailed, but it was not the Liberal party that enforced them. Prohibition has been enacted, but the Prohibition party has never carried a single national election. As these pages are written, woman suffrage is at the point of final triumph, but the Woman Suffrage party has never seriously figured in an electoral campaign.

The lesson is obvious and, as it was suggested at the beginning as something to be illustrated in this history, so it may be recurred to at the close, as something which every chapter in the record emphasizes. The American government is a government through parties, and through two major parties and them alone. It is thus alone that responsibility can be fixed and stability assured. A multiplicity of parties, no one having a majority, was tried for years in our sister republic of France, with the result of half a dozen changes of ministry in a year and more zigzagging than straightforward progress. Under our system it might not cause changes of cabinets, but it would conduce to all manner of "deals" among the various factions, would diffuse instead of centering responsibility and would make public affairs the subject of dicker and bargain.

The thoughtful American citizen will therefore affiliate himself with one or the other of the two great parties which have survived the birth and deaths of scores of ephemeral organizations, the two great parties to which must be credited all the good and against which must be charged all the evil in our government for the last two-thirds of a century.

It is our hope and expectation that this brief account of the Republican party, of what it has stood for and what it stands for to-day, will assist in convincing an impressive majority of the new voters of the United States that it is the party which on the whole record is the more worthy of their choice. "I have," said Patrick Henry, "but one lamp by which my feet are

REVIEW AND PROSPECT

guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." If that wise rule be followed by the voters of 1920 and the subsequent years, they will prudently judge from the past record of the Republican party that it is the party to which the future interests of the nation are most safely to be committed. They will affiliate themselves with it, with a serene assurance that so long as its principles and practices prevail, "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

PRESIDENTIAL CHRONOLOGY

<i>Name</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Term</i>
George Washington	Va.	Federalist	Mar. 4, 1789; Mar. 4, 1797
John Adams	Mass.	Federalist	Mar. 4, 1797; Mar. 4, 1801
Thomas Jefferson	Va.	Dem.-Rep.	Mar. 4, 1801; Mar. 4, 1809
James Madison	Va.	Dem.-Rep.	Mar. 4, 1809; Mar. 4, 1817
James Monroe	Va.	Dem.-Rep.	Mar. 4, 1817; Mar. 4, 1825
John Quincy Adams	Mass.	Dem.-Rep.	Mar. 4, 1825; Mar. 4, 1829
Andrew Jackson	Tenn.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1829; Mar. 4, 1837
Martin VanBuren	N. Y.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1837; Mar. 4, 1841
Wm. Henry Harrison (Died in office)	Ohio	Whig	Mar. 4, 1841; Apr. 4, 1841
John Tyler (Elected Vice-President as a Whig; filled out unexpired term of Harrison as a Democrat)	Va.	Democrat	Apr. 4, 1841; Mar. 4, 1845
James K. Polk	Tenn.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1845; Mar. 4, 1849
Zachary Taylor (Died in office)	La.	Whig	Mar. 4, 1849; July 9, 1850
Millard Fillmore (Elected Vice-President; filled out unexpired term of Taylor)	N. Y.	Whig	July 9, 1850; Mar. 4, 1853
Franklin Pierce	N. H.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1853; Mar. 4, 1857
James Buchanan	Penn.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1857; Mar. 4, 1861
Abraham Lincoln (Assassinated in office)	Ill.	Republican	Mar. 4, 1861; Apr. 15, 1865
Andrew Johnson (Elected Vice-President as a Republican; filled out unexpired term of Lincoln as Democrat)	Tenn.	Democrat	Apr. 15, 1865; Mar. 4, 1869
Ulysses S. Grant	Ill.	Republican	Mar. 4, 1869; Mar. 4, 1877
Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	Republican	Mar. 4, 1877; Mar. 4, 1881
James A. Garfield (Assassinated in office)	Ohio	Republican	Mar. 4, 1881; Sep. 19, 1881
Chester A. Arthur (Elected Vice-President; filled out unexpired term of Garfield)	N. Y.	Republican	Sep. 19, 1881; Mar. 4, 1885
Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1885; Mar. 4, 1889
Benjamin Harrison	Ind.	Republican	Mar. 4, 1889; Mar. 4, 1893
Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1893; Mar. 4, 1897
William McKinley (Assassinated in office)	Ohio	Republican	Mar. 4, 1897; Sep. 14, 1901
Theodore Roosevelt (Elected Vice-President; filled out unexpired term of McKinley; re-elected for full term)	N. Y.	Republican	Sep. 14, 1901; Mar. 4, 1909
William H. Taft	Ohio	Republican	Mar. 4, 1909; Mar. 4, 1913
Woodrow Wilson	N. J.	Democrat	Mar. 4, 1913; Mar. 4, 1921

(NOTE: The designations "Democrat" and "Republican" are used in their present sense, the former with and since Andrew Jackson in 1829, the latter with and since Abraham Lincoln in 1861.)

REFERENCES FOR COLLATERAL READING

GENERAL HISTORIES (Covering Slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction, etc.)

- History of the United States.....James F. Rhodes
- History of the American People.....J. B. McMaster
- The American Republic.....Albert Bushnell Hart
- The American Conflict.....Horace Greeley
- Political RecollectionsGeorge W. Julian
- Twenty Years of Congress.....James G. Blaine
- Recollections of Fifty Years.....John Sherman
- Autobiography of Seventy Years.....George F. Hoar
- An AutobiographyTheodore Roosevelt
- Life of LincolnHay and Nicolay
- History of the Presidency.....Edward Stanwood
- History of Presidential Elections.....Edward Stanwood
- National Conventions and Platforms.....T. H. McKee
- Political and Governmental History of
the State of New York (in Press)....Century History Co.

GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS (Covering All Topics)

- Appleton's Cyclopedia of American
GovernmentMcLaughlin and Hart
- The American Commonwealth.....James Bryce
- American IdealsTheodore Roosevelt
- The International Cyclopedia
- The International Year Book
- The American Year Book

SPECIAL PARTY HISTORIES

- The Republican Party.....F. M. Curtis
- Fifty Years of the Republican Party....John Hay
- Political Issues and Outlooks.....W. H. Taft

FOREIGN RELATIONS

- Foundations of American Foreign Policy..A. B. Hart
- America's Foreign Relations.....Willis Fletcher Johnson

THE TARIFF

- American Tariff Controversies.....Edward Stanwood

ALASKA, HAWAII, SPANISH WAR, PHILIPPINES

- A Century of Expansion.....Willis Fletcher Johnson

BANKING AND CURRENCY

- History of Coinage and Currency in
the U. S.A. P. Hepburn
- Money and Banking.....Horace White
- Financial History of the U. S.....D. R. Dewey

TRUSTS

- The Trust Problem.....J. W. Jenks
- Trust FinanceE. S. Meade

THE PANAMA CANAL

- Four Centuries of the Panama Canal....Willis Fletcher Johnson

INDEX

	PAGE
Abolition Party	2
Adams, Charles Francis.....	9, 40, 62
Agricultural College, land grants to.....	37
Alaska, purchase of.....	42
Aldrich, Nelson W.....	92
Aldrich-Vreeland Currency Bill.....	92
"American" Party	74
Anthony, Susan B.....	104
Anti-Masonic Party	3
Anti-Monopoly Convention	72
Anti-Trust Act	88
Arbitration of Alabama Claims at Geneva.....	41, 60
Arthur, Chester Alan.....	69, 71
Ashmun, George	9, 24
Banks, Nathaniel P., 9; first Republican Speaker.....	12, 14
Banks, National, founded by Republican Government.....	35
Beecher, Henry Ward.....	10
Bell, John	23
"Big Business"	88
Blaine, James G.....	72
Blair, Francis P.....	9, 13
Blair, Montgomery	9
Boutwell, George S.....	9
Bovay, A. E., organizer of first Republican mass meeting.....	11
Breckinridge, John C.....	23
British Relations in Civil War.....	39
Brown, B. Gratz.....	61
Brown, John, Harper's Ferry raid.....	17
Bryan, William J.....	77, 78, 91
Bryant, William Cullen.....	9
Buchanan, James	15, 16
Buckner, S. B.....	77
Butler, Nicholas Murray, on politics as science of government.....	1
Campaigns, Presidential: 1856, 13; 1860, 22; 1864, 31; 1868, 53; 1872, 61; 1880, 69; 1884, 72; 1888, 74; 1892, 75; 1896, 76; 1900, 78; 1904, 89; 1908, 91; 1912, 94; 1916, 96; 1920.....	99
Chandler, Zachariah	9
Chase, Salmon P., 9; seeks Presidency.....	26
Civil Rights, Law, 47; Constitutional Amendment.....	48
Civil Service, merit system founded.....	60
Civil Service Reform Law.....	72
Civil War, 28; end of (See Reconstruction).....	44
Citizenship naturalized, rights of, 58; recognized by other powers.....	59
Cleveland, Grover, nominated for Presidency, 72; elected, 73; seeks tariff revision, 73; renominated, 75; reelected.....	75
Colfax, Schuyler	9, 53
Congressional Representation	48
Constitutional Amendments: XIII, 31, 47; XIV, 48, 51; XV, 51; XIX	103
Constitutional Union Party.....	3, 23
Conventions, nominating, first held, 2; first Republican National, 13; second Republican, 23; third Republican, 31; fourth Re- publican, 53; fifth Republican, 63; convention of 1920.....	99

INDEX—Continued

	PAGE
Coolidge, Calvin	99
Cox, James M.	100
Cooper, Peter	68
Corwin, Thomas	9
Currency: National bank notes, 35; Greenbacks, 36; Legal Tender Act, 35; controversy over greenbacks and specie payments	55
Curtis, George W.	10
Davis, Henry G.	89
Dayton, William L.	14, 42
Democratic Party: Divided over Kansas-Nebraska bill, 10; proslavery policy, 19; split conventions in 1860, 22; regains majority in House of Representatives after Civil War, 56, 65; split in 1896 over silver question	82
Dingley, Nelson, author of tariff bill	78
Disabilities, political	46, 49
Douglas, Stephen A., leads Democratic revolt over Kansas, 18; debate with Lincoln, 20; nominated for President	22
Dow, Neal	70
Dred Scott Decision	18
Elections: Republican success in 1854, 12; Presidential, 1856, 16; Congressional, 1858, 21; Presidential, 1860, 26; Congressional, 1862, 30; Presidential, 1864, 32; Presidential, 1868, 54; Presidential, 1872, 64; Congressional, 1874, 65; disputed Presidential, 1876, 68; Presidential, 1880, 70; Presidential, 1884, 73; Presidential, 1888, 74; Congressional, 1890, 75; Presidential, 1892, 75; Presidential, 1896, 77; Presidential, 1900, 78; Presidential, 1904, 90; Presidential, 1908, 92; Presidential, 1912, 94; Presidential, 1916	96
Electoral Commission	68
Emancipation Proclamation	30
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	10
Emmet, Robert	14
English, W. H.	70
Equal Rights Party	74
Everett, Edward	23
Fairbanks, Charles W.	89, 96
Farmers' Alliance Party	75
Federal Reserve Banking Act	92
Fiat Money	57
Fillmore, Millard	14
Financial issues, 53; successfully met (See Currency and Silver) ..	57
Foreign Relations, 39; with Great Britain in Civil War, 39; Geneva Arbitration, 41; controversy with France over Mexico, 41; treaties securing rights of naturalized citizens, 58; Hague Conferences, 85; Open Door in China, 85; Russo-Japanese Mediation	86
Freedmen's Bureau	47
Free Soil Party, rise of	8
Fremont, John Charles, first Republican candidate for Presidency ..	14
French relations, over Mexico	41
Garfield, James A., President	69, 71
Giddings, Joshua R.	10
Gold Standard adopted	83
Grant, U. S., nominated for President, 53; elected, 54; vetoes inflation bill, 57; renominated, 63; reelected	64

INDEX—Continued

	PA
Greeley, Horace, 9, 11, 29; candidate for Presidency.....	
Greenbacks (See Currency)	
Greenback Party	3, 57,
Grimes, Jacob W.	
Hague Conferences	
Hamlin, Hannibal	9,
Hancock, W. S., Presidential candidate.....	
Harding, Warren G.....	
Harrison, Benjamin, nominated for President, 74; elected, 74; re-nominated	
Hawaii, annexed	
Hayes, Rutherford B., nominated for President, 67; elected...	
Hendricks, Thomas A.....	
Hobart, Garret A.....	
Homestead Act	
Howard, Jacob M.....	9,
Howe, Julia Ward.....	
Hughes, Charles Evans, candidate for Presidency.....	
"Independence" Party	
Independent parties, futility of	
Inflation vetoed by Grant.....	
Jackson, Mich., scene of first Republican convention....	
Johnson, Andrew, 32; becomes President, 44; conflict with Congress, 45; impeachment trial.....	
Johnson, Hiram W.....	
Julian, George W.....	9,
Kansas-Nebraska Bill	
Kern, John W.....	
King, Preston	
Know Nothing Party, 3; alliance with refused by Republicans...	
Labor Reform Party.....	
Land Grants to Agricultural Colleges.....	
Lane, Henry S.....	9,
League of Nations, Republican attitude toward	
Lecompton Constitution, 18; causes Democratic split.....	
Legal Tender Act.....	
Liberal Colored Republican Party.....	
Liberal Republican Party, 3; organization of.....	
Life Saving Service.....	
Lincoln, Abraham, among founders of Republican Party, 9, 14; becomes its leader, 19; speaks of "a house divided against itself," 19; candidate for Senator, 20; debate with Douglas, 21; nominated for President, 26; elected, 27; inaugurated, 28; policy in Civil War, 28; Emancipation Proclamation, 30; assassination	
Lockwood, Belva A.....	
Longfellow, Henry W.....	
Logan, John A.....	
Lovejoy, Owen	
Lowell, James Russell.....	
Mann, Horace	
Marshall, Thomas R.....	
Mexico, controversy with France over, 41; French expelled from Middle-of-the-Road People's Party.....	
Mississippi River improvements.....	

INDEX—Continued

	PAGE
Missouri Compromise	7
Monetary Commission, Senator Aldrich's.....	92
Monroe Doctrine, upheld in Mexico, 50; in Alaska.....	52
Morgan, E. D.....	9, 14
Morrill, Justin S., author of tariff bill.....	33
Morton, Levi P.....	74
Morton, Oliver P.....	9
McClellan, George B.....	31
McKinley, William, author of tariff bill, 75; nominated for President, 77; elected, 77; last speech before assassination.....	78
McLean John	14
National Banks	35
National Bonds, controversy over payment of.....	53, 55
National Democratic Party.....	77
New States and Territories.....	84
Nominations first made in popular conventions.....	2
Northern Securities suit and decision.....	89
"Oaks" Meeting in	11
O'Connor, Charles	62
Pacific Railroad, Republican policy toward 38; completion of....	59
Palfrey, John G.....	9
Palmer, John M.....	9, 77
Panama Canal	85, 86
Pan-American Union	86
Parker, Alton B.....	89
Parties, political, essential to American Government, 2; futility of Third or Independent parties, 3; citizens' duty toward....	4
Pennington, William, Speaker.....	21
People's Party	77, 89
Philippines, acquisition of.....	85
Platforms, origin of, 2; first Republican, 11, 15; of 1860, 24; of 1868, 53; of 1872, 63; of 1884 (See Campaigns).....	73
Politics, the science of Government.....	1
Populist Party	75, 77, 89, 92
Porto Rico annexed.....	85
Postal cards	60
Presidential Candidates: J. C. Fremont, 14; Abraham Lincoln, 26; U. S. Grant, 53; R. B. Hayes, 67; J. A. Garfield, 69; J. G. Blaine, 72; Benjamin Harrison, 74; William McKinley, 77; Theodore Roosevelt, 89; W. H. Taft, 91; C. E. Hughes, 96; W. G. Harding	99
Presidents, list of.....	110
Progressive Party and campaign.....	94
Prohibition Party	3, 70, 74, 78, 89, 92
Protection (See Tariff)	
Public Debt of U. S. validated and of Confederacy invalidated..	50
Railroad Mail Service.....	66
Raymond, Henry J.....	13
Reciprocity, 75; declined by Canada.....	93
Reconstruction, after Civil War, 44; dispute between President and Congress, 44; Republican policy, 46; restoration of all Southern States to Union.....	51
Reid, Whitelaw	75
Representation in Congress.....	48

INDEX—Continued

	PAGE
Republican Party: Name and character, 5; time and circumstances of organization, 7; its founders, 9; party elements in, 10; first meeting, 11; adoption of name, 11; first platform, 11; success in first elections, 12; Convention of 1860, 23; important legislation during Civil War, 33; Reconstruction policy, 46; financial policy after war, 55; division in 1912, 94; reunion, 96; platform of 1916, 95; attitude toward European War, 97; attitude toward Peace Treaty, 98; summary of achievements	106
Repudiation resisted	55
Resumption (See Specie Payments)	
Ripon, Wis., scene of first Republican mass meeting	11
Roosevelt, Franklin D.	100
Roosevelt, Theodore, nominated and elected Vice-President, 78; renominated and reelected President, 89; great achievements of his administration, 91; Progressive leader	94
Sewall, Arthur	77
Seward, William H., 9, 14; on "irrepressible conflict," 20; seeks Presidency, 22; reasons for purchasing Alaska	43
Seymour, Horatio	53
Sherman, James S.	91
Sherman, John	9, 21
Sherman law for regulation of trusts	88
Silver, demonetized, 64; "trade dollar," 64; rise of "free silver" controversy, 81; Bland silver purchase bill, 81; Sherman Bill, 82; silver purchase stopped, 82; the "16 to 1" campaign, 82; Republican policy triumphant	83
Silver Party	3, 77
Silver Republican Party	78
Slavery, as sectional issue, 7; in Civil War, 29; denounced in Republican platform, 30; abolished	30
Smith, Green Clay	68
Social Democratic Party of America	78
Social Democratic Party of the United States	78
Socialist-Labor Party	3, 75, 78, 90, 92
Socialist Party	3, 90, 92
Specie Payments, 55; Resumption Act, 64; resumption effected..	69
"Squatter Sovereignty"	8
Stevens, Thaddeus	9
Stevenson, Adlai E.	75, 78
Stowe, Harriet Beecher	10
Suffrage, Negro, in XV Amendment	51
Suffrage, Woman: Early Republican sympathy with, 101; utterances in platforms, 101; final declaration, 103; the XIXth Amendment passed by Republican votes in Congress, 104; ratified by Republican States	104
Sumner, Charles	9, 14
Taft, William H., nominated for President, 91; elected, 92; renominated	94
Tariff: In first Republican platform, 25; Morrill law, 33; protective principle maintained, 56; reduction of war duties, 60; issue in campaign of 1876, 66; in 1880, 70; Tariff Commission of 1881 and resultant law, 70; Democratic demand for "tariff for revenue only," 73; McKinley Tariff, 75; Wilson-Gorman	

